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ABSTRACT

This special journal issue is designed to draw attention to the varied musical traditions of cultural groups living in New York State. Recent research by folklorists and musicologists also is examined. Articles include: (1) "Introduction: Folk and Traditional Music in New York State" (Ray Allen; Nancy Groce); (2) "African-American Sacred Quartet Singing in New York City" (Ray Allen); (3) "The Anglo-American Fiddle Tradition in New York State" (Simon Bronner); (4) "Survival of Greek Folk Music in New York (Sotirios Chianis); (5) "Writing While They're Singing: A Conversation About Longhouse Social Dance Songs" (Michael Sam Cronk); (6) "Traditional Japanese Music in New York State" (Linda Fujie); (7) "Country Dancing in Central and Western New York State" (James Kimball); (8) "Music in New York City's Chinese Community" (Audrey R. Mazur); (9) "'Our Own Little Isle:' Irish Traditional Music in New York" (Rebbeca S. Miller); (10) "From Eastern Europe to East Broadway: Yiddish Music in Old World and New" (Henry Sapoznik); (11) "Italian Music in New York" (Michael Schlesinger); (12) "Puerto Rican Music in New York City" (Roberta Singer); (13) "'Rock the House:' The Aesthetic Dimensions of Rap Music in New York City" (Madeline Slovenz); (14) "Anglo-American Folksong Collecting and Singing Traditions in Rural New York State" (Vaughn Ramsey Ward); and (15) "'Haiti Cherie': Journey of an Immigrant Music in New York City" (Lois E. Wilcken). (NP)

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New York FOLKLORE

Special Issue

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Folk and Traditional Music in New York State

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Special Issue:

Folk and Traditional Music in New York State

Ray Allen and Nancy Groce, Guest Editors

Vol. 14, Nos. 3-4
Summer-Fall, 1988

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A Note from the Editor

New York Folklore aims to publish a Special Issue or Special Section on a topic of currency in folklore studies, or on an aspect of the incredibly rich cultural heritage of our State, at least once a year. The usual first move is to select a specialist in the chosen area, and to invite that person to act as Guest Editor. But any feelings of having been honored by such a request rapidly pass, as the Guest Editors realize the nature of the task they have agreed to undertake (and the Editor recalls his mother's advice on the proper way to treat a guest). It's not like editing a book, to which a publisher is not yet committed. The Guest Editor of a special issue of a journal has to deal not only with authors and their own agendas, but with the journal's regular Editor and his (damned) publication schedule. But always, when everything is in, the Guest Editor plucks out his/her new gray hairs, kills off the antacid bottle, and pens "acknowledgements," graciously thanking all who had a part in the project. But who thanks the Guest Editors?

Ray Allen and Nancy Groce are both distinguished enthnomusicologists, current or past members of our Society's Executive Board, and among the most energetic and imaginative folklorists in our State. They have worked patiently and persistently on this project for well over a year. They combined continual good cheer with a determined commitment to excellence. Here is the result, and on behalf of the New York Folklore Society, I thank them deeply for it. It is a unique and remarkable volume, and I know that it will be regarded as an important one.

P.S., jr.
November, 1988

Cover photo: Los Pleneros de la 21, a Puerto Rican bomba *and* plena *ensemble in New York City (see article by Roberta Singer, p. 139). Top, l-r: Francisco Rivera, Sammy Tanco, Pablo Ortiz, Juan Gutierrez. Bottom, l-r: Alberto Cepeda, Eugenia Ramos, and Benjamin Flores (1935-1988). Photo by Marlis Momber, 1986.*

NEW YORK FOLKLORE
Vol. XIV, Nos. 3-4, 1988

CONTENTS

Special Issue:
Folk and Traditional Music in New York State
Ray Allen and Nancy Groce, Guest Editors

Introduction: Folk and Traditional Music in New York State	Ray Allen and Nancy Groce	1
African-American Sacred Quartet Singing in New York City	Ray Allen	7
The Anglo-American Fiddle Tradition in New York State	Simon Bronner	23
Survival of Greek Folk Music in New York	Sotirios (Sam) Chianis	39
Writing While They're Singing: A Conversation about Longhouse Social Dance Songs	Michael Sam Cronk	49
Traditional Japanese Music in New York State	Linda Fujie	61
Country Dancing in Central and Western New York State	James Kimball	71
Music in New York City's Chinese Community	Audrey R. Mazur	89
"Our Own Little Isle:" Irish Traditional Music in New York	Rebecca S. Miller	101
From Eastern Europe to East Broadway: Yiddish Music in Old World and New	Henry Sapoznik	117
Italian Music in New York	Michael Schlesinger	129
Puerto Rican Music in New York City	Roberta Singer	139
"Rock the House:" The Aesthetic Dimensions of Rap Music in New York City	Madeline Slovenz	151
Anglo-American Folksong Collecting and Singing Traditions in Rural New York State	Vaughn Ramsey Ward	165
Haiti Chérie: Journey of an Immigrant Music in New York City	Lois E. Wilcken	179

Contributors to this Issue, 190; Editor's Year-End Report, 192.

NEW YORK FOLKLORE
Vol. XIV, Nos. 3-4, 1988

Introduction: Folk and Traditional Music in New York State

RAY ALLEN and NANCY GROCE

The dictionary definition of an empire as "an aggregate of nations or people" under the rule of a single government, can be applied readily to the Empire State. It is difficult to make many meaningful generalizations about New York, a state whose huge population is one of the most ethnically diverse in the nation, and a state which is also further subdivided into almost a dozen distinct geo-cultural regions. New York contains one of the world's largest and most cosmopolitan cities, yet vast tracts of farm land and wilderness remain; Wall Street and Madison Avenue may receive more publicity, but the state's largest industry is still agriculture. Equally diverse are the myriad forms of traditional and community-based music preserved, performed and enjoyed within its borders. This issue of *New York Folklore* is designed to draw attention to the varied musical traditions in New York State, as well as to recent research by folklorists and ethnomusicologists.

In terms of music and culture, New York has always been diverse. When the Dutch arrived in the 1620s, a number of culturally distinct Native American groups were living within the borders of present-day New York: the Algonquian-speaking Leni-Lenape dwelt in the south; while Iroquoian-speaking groups such as the Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Seneca, and later Tuscarora lived in the northern and western part of the state. Michael Sam Cronk's article on the music of the Iroquois discusses the on-going musical traditions of some of these earliest New Yorkers.

The Dutch were generally tolerant in their attitudes toward other European ethnic groups, as long as they did not interfere with the colony's primary purpose as a trading station. They settled what is today "downstate" New York — Long Island, the New York metropolitan area, and northward along the Hudson River as far as Beverwyck (now Albany). The Dutch were more liberal in their attitudes toward music than their New England contemporaries who, though not opposed to home music making, did object to public musical entertainments and the use of musical instruments in church. There is every reason to believe that Dutch folk music thrived in public and private performances, but unfortunately few records describing musical life in New Amsterdam have survived, and even

fewer examples of Dutch musical traditions have been collected from oral sources.

When the British wrested control of the colony from Holland in 1660, their new acquisition already was home to citizens from diverse ethnic backgrounds: in addition to the Dutch, downstate residents included significant numbers of Huguenots, Germans, Irish, African-Americans, Sephardic Jews, and a smattering of others. Meanwhile, "upstate" New York was being developed rapidly as New Englanders, primarily of Anglo- or Scotch-Irish descent, pressed westward from Connecticut and Massachusetts to settle as close to the mid-state boundary established by the Royal Proclamation Line of 1763 as the British authorities would permit. These groups brought with them forms of vocal and instrumental music which can still be heard in present-day New York. The articles in this volume by James Kimball on Anglo-American dance, Vaughn Ward on Anglo-American songs, and Simon Bronner on Anglo-American fiddle and string band music, discuss musical traditions whose roots can be traced back to this era in New York State history.

After the American Revolution, when governmental control over westward expansion was lifted, settlers rushed into fertile lands of western New York, establishing as they went a string of settlements in the central part of the state with such euphonious classical names as Utica, Syracuse, Ithaca, Rome, Greece and Homer. When the Erie Canal was completed in 1825, these towns rapidly developed into major manufacturing cities as the waterway provided an easy route for the movement of both goods and culture from one end of the state to the other. During the following decades, the state's commerce and industries attracted ever larger waves of new Americans to New York. Major immigrant groups during the anti-bellum period included the Irish, especially during and after the famines of the 1840s, and German refugees following the Revolution of 1848. During the decades following the Civil War, the state's thriving mills and factories attracted even greater numbers of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Poles, Italians, Jews, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Greeks, and Russians came through the Port of New York by the hundreds of thousands, bringing musical as well as other cultural traditions with them. The articles contributed by Henry Sapoznik on Yiddish music, Rebecca Miller on Irish music, and Michael Schlesinger on Italian music, examine the traditions of some of the major ethnic groups whose ancestors arrived in New York during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Immigration to New York continued, and is continuing, unabated. Beginning with World War I and persisting through the 1950s, large numbers of southern, rural African-Americans migrated to the state. New York City experienced large scale immigration from Cuba and Puerto Rico during and immediately following WW II. In the aftermath of the 1965 immigration law reforms, Afro-Caribbean people from Jamaica, Haiti,

Trinidad, and the Dominican Republic arrived in New York City and the surrounding metropolitan area. In addition, New York's older Chinese and Arab (Lebanese, Syrian, Palestinian, and Jordanian) communities have grown significantly in recent years, while the influx of Korean, South American (Colombians, Peruvians, Chileans and Argentineans) and Russian Jewish immigrants during the past ten years have added to our cultural mix.

Like previous immigrants, these new groups come to New York in search of economic opportunity, and, in some cases, escape from racism, religious persecution, and oppressive political regimes. And, like their predecessors, most new immigrants arrive more richly endowed with traditional culture than with material heritage. As "cultural baggage" goes, music is among the most portable, and it is often one of the most cherished forms of traditional culture maintained within an ethnic community. These recently-arrived immigrants and rural migrants have made significant contributions to the musical heritage of the Empire State, as is clearly demonstrated in the articles by Ray Allen on African-American Gospel music, Audrey Mazur on Chinese music, Roberta Singer on Puerto Rican music, Linda Fujie on Japanese music, and Lois Wilcken on Haitian music.

There are numerous ways to approach the study of music, ranging from formal analysis of sound structure to investigations of the social dimensions of music making. This volume stresses the latter, emphasizing the historical development, performance, function, and meaning of musical activity within specific ethnic communities. While much early folksong scholarship focused on the collection and analysis of song texts, our authors are primarily concerned with the social and historical context in which music making unfolds. This cultural approach to music has recently found favor with a number of academic disciplines including folklore, ethnomusicology, musicology, anthropology, and social history, as well as among journalists with serious interests in American and world music.

In terms of overall organization, each article in this issue focuses on the music culture of an individual ethnic group — a standard and accessible method in which to present information on widely divergent musical genres. Some offer in-depth looks at specific forms, such as rap, gospel, balladry, or fiddle music. Others provide broad surveys of the range of musical activity of particular peoples, such as the Puerto Rican, Haitian, Greek, and Japanese-American communities in New York. In either case, many of the authors have gone beyond the bounds of what is generally perceived to be "folk" music to include genres often categorized as "popular" (suggesting commercially generated and media transmitted) or "classical" (suggesting composed, formally taught and institutionally supported) music. We welcome this broad approach. Realizing the nebulous and somewhat ethnocentric nature of the folk/popular/classical trichotomy, we seriously debated the use of the term "folk music" in the title of this

9
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volume. Perhaps "ethnic" or "immigrant" music would have been a better choice, although these words too are loaded with ambiguity. We eventually settled for "folk and traditional," broadly defining the term to include not only music that is old, anonymous, and aurally transmitted, but also that which is community-based and centered primarily in small group performances. Thus, forms generally classified as popular music such as rap, *salsa*, and gospel, are examined in their "folk" community settings by Madeline Slovenz, Roberta Singer, and Ray Allen respectively. The malleable boundaries of folk and popular music are evident in Simon Bronner's examination of the influence of radio broadcasting on traditional New York State string band music. Moreover, as the contributions of Linda Fujie and Audrey Mazur clearly demonstrate, certain genres of Japanese and Chinese musics commonly classified as "classical" operate within the confines of ethnic and immigrant communities in a manner closely akin to more traditionally recognized folk styles.

A number of salient themes recur throughout this volume. The impact of twentieth-century mass media on traditional music is of paramount importance. In spite of its homogenizing tendencies, the early radio and recordings industry helped preserve and spread traditional styles, as Simon Bronner, Henry Sapoznik, Michael Schlesinger, and Sam Chianis point out in their articles on Anglo-American, Yiddish, Italian-American and Greek-American music. Further, by making more music available to larger audiences, radio and recordings inadvertently stimulated cross-cultural blending of styles, which resulted in the emergence of exciting new hybrid forms such as the Latin jazz and *salsa*, Haitian *compas*, and Greek *bouzouki* music.

Another central concern is the importance of traditional music in maintaining group identity in a multi-ethnic society. Examining Puerto Rican music within the historical context of the Latino identity movement, Roberta Singer aptly concludes:

> The use of traditional symbols renders the past important not for its own sake, but for the continuity and grounding it offers for contemporary existence. Thus, all performance of Puerto Rican music, whether traditional or tradition-inspired, is a display of ethnicity by performers, whether or not they consciously acknowledge that display. (p. 149)

For recently arrived immigrant groups, traditional music may provide a powerful symbolic link to their homeland culture. For example, Lois Wilcken points out that for Haitian immigrants in New York City, stylized presentations of Haitian folk dance and ritual fulfill the emotional needs of those who are nostalgic for Haiti. Ray Allen suggests that African-American gospel quartet performance helps ease the tensions of northern urban migration

by reminding participants of their shared ethnic and historical identity as southern black Christians.

Related to the issue of ethnic identity maintenance is the self-conscious revival of old country and rural musical styles that once appeared destined for extinction. On the tail of the commercial "folk revival" of the 1950s and 1960s, and encouraged by the nation's Bicentennial and Alex Haley's influential novel *Roots*, younger performers from diverse ethnic backgrounds in New York sought out and studied with older traditional musicians, painstakingly learning unique regional and community styles. The resurgence of interest in traditional Anglo-American, Irish, and Yiddish dance music, as discussed in the contributions by Simon Bronner, Rebecca Miller, and Henry Sapoznik, exemplifies this spirit. Revitalization of older traditions within a specific ethnic group are often instigated by younger, relatively acculturated individuals who wish to foster pride among younger community members. The Haitian folklore troupes considered by Lois Wilcken, the Italian music/theater groups noted by Michael Schlesinger, and the Japanese *taiko* drumming and *o-bon* folk dance groups examined by Linda Fujie provide each community with a means of cultural preservation, as well as a vehicle to present their heritage to larger, multi-ethnic audiences.

New York State has emerged as a leading center for the study and presentation of traditional music.

The ethnic and regional groups included in this issue were selected in part because of their prominence in the state, and in part because they have been the subject of scholarly research. The list is by no means complete, and the serious study of New York's newer West Indian, South American, Arab, Korean, and Soviet Jewish immigrant communities has only recently begun. New York State, however, has unquestionably emerged as a leading center for the study and presentation of traditional music. Critical support for some of the state's more fragile and least commercially viable musics has been provided by the Folk Arts Program of the New York State Council on the Arts, and the Folk Arts Division of the National Endowment for the Arts. With their assistance, an increasing number of regional and community arts organizations have become involved in the documentation and presentation of the state's finest traditional musicians through audio and video recordings, concerts and festivals. In addition, several New York universities, including Columbia, City University of New York at Hunter College, and New York University now offer degrees in ethnomusicology. There are ethnomusicologists and folklorists at many of the schools in the City and State University systems, as well as at private institutions of higher education.

These developments bode well for the future of folk and traditional music in the Empire State. As long as New York serves as a beacon for new immigrants, its musical resources will continue to flourish. The revitalization of older musical practices, in conjunction with the on-going blending of folk and popular forms, will result in the survival of many venerable traditions as well as the emergence of new community-based vernacular styles. A firm commitment by scholars and arts coordinators to study and support these expressions, both old and new, should assure the health of New York's diverse musical traditions for the foreseeable future. The following essays are offered in the spirit of this commitment.

Acknowledgements

We wish to express our thanks to the many individuals who assisted in the preparation of this volume. We are especially indebted to Michael Licht for his assistance in developing the initial concept of this special issue, and to *New York Folklore* Editor Phil Stevens for overseeing the general editing. Special thanks to each of the authors, who found time in their busy professional schedules to contribute to this project. Our gratitude to Robert Browning of the World Music Institute, and to Laurie Russell, for their patient support. Finally, we would like to acknowledge and thank the Folk Arts Program of the New York State Council on the Arts for their generous grant support that made this project possible.

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African-American Sacred Quartet Singing in New York City

RAY ALLEN

The Early Jubilee/Harmonizing Quartets

The joyful sounds of sacred quartet harmony have resonated through the black neighborhoods of New York for nearly a hundred years. This is not surprising, considering New York is home to one of the oldest urban African-American communities in the United States. In the late nineteenth century, as the city's commercial entertainment industry boomed, the best minstrel and vaudeville acts in the country flocked to New York. These acts often featured four- and five-man tight harmony singing groups known as quartets. Their diverse repertoires included secular novelty songs, popular ballads, and parlor songs, as well as sacred spiritual and jubilee songs. In 1894, an outdoor extravaganza in New York City entitled "Black America" featured no less than sixty-three quartets, the best of which were praised for their exquisite harmonizing on plantation numbers and operatic selections (Fletcher 1954: 97). Groups such as the Old South Quartette and the Four Harmony Kings were among the best harmonizing quartets to grace the stages of New York's vaudeville theatres during the early decades of this century (Seroff 1982a:147; Funk 1985; Johnson 1940:36).

As early as the 1870s, jubilee groups from southern black colleges such as Fisk University and Hampton Institute were appearing in New York City (Marsh, 1880: 24-39). On occasion the larger jubilee choirs were pared down to smaller, one-on-a-part quartets, that sang smooth renditions of spirituals and other black folk songs. Because members of these early black college quartets were formally trained in the Western European choral tradition, their arrangements tended to emphasize clear diction, precise harmony, and relatively simple rhythmic patterns. At least one of the many college-based quartets that visited New York, the Utica Institute Jubilee Singers, actually relocated in the city where they broadcast on WJZ of the National Broadcasting Company. During the 1920s, two other New York college-trained groups, the Southernaires and the Original Dixie Jubilee Singers (later known as the Eva Jessye Choir), popularized smooth, barber-shop and semi-classical arrangements of spirituals through regular radio broadcasts (Funk and Grendysa 1985; Southern 1983:411-415).

During the 1920s and 1930s, New York City's status as a media center attracted many of the South's finest church-based quartets who were not formally trained in European singing. Three of Virginia's most prominent groups, the Norfolk Jubilee/Jazz Quartet, the Peerless Four, and the Silver Leaf Quartet visited the city regularly during this period to record, broadcast on radio, and sing at larger black churches.

By 1940 New York City was the leading center of jubilee quartet singing in the Northeast.

The most influential and commercially successful quartet of the pre-War era, the Golden Gate Quartet of Norfolk, Virginia, also made New York City home during the late 1930s and early 1940s. The group's nationally broadcast radio programs on CBS and their early recordings, on the Bluebird and RCA labels, helped shape the syncopated, rhythmic style of spiritual singing — often referred to as "jubilee" singing — that became popular among black quartets during the late-1930s.[1] The rhythmic and harmonic sophistication of early jazz and swing music, as well as a pulsing beat borrowed from Holiness church singers, contributed to the evolution of this lively jubilee style. The Golden Gates, and the numerous jubilee quartets they inspired, also performed popular swing and jazz numbers as well as sacred material (Heilbut 1985:43-44; Broughton 1985:62-64).

By 1940, due primarily to the pervasive influence of residents groups like the Golden Gate Quartet and the Norfolk Jubilee/Jazz quartet, New York City emerged as the leading northeastern center of jubilee quartet singing. The best known groups enjoyed not only the support of black church audiences, but also that of select white listeners who purchased their records, followed their radio broadcasts, and occasionally attended their performances at clubs and concert halls.

While professional groups such as the Southernaires, the Golden Gates, and the Norfolk Jubilee/Jazz Quartet have been well documented, little is known about the city's non-commercial, community-based quartets. As New York City's black population increased from large waves of the southern migrants during and following the first World War, the number of non-commercial spiritual and jubilee quartets grew. Reviewing the Radio Features section of New York's principle black newspaper, the *Amsterdam News*, reveals that during the late 1920s and early 1930s, "quartets" and "jubilee singers" received a good deal of air-time. For example, radio listings during this period include not only programs by the nationally known Fisk Jubilee Singers and the Southernaires, but also performances by the Wandering Boys Spiritual Quartet, the Slow River Negro Quartet, the

The Golden Gate Quartet, c. 1940s. (Photo courtesy of Ray Funk)

Metropolitan Four, the Eveready Jubilee Singers, the Excell Jubilee Singers, the Eastern Star Quartet, and the Grand Central Red Caps Quartet. Presumably these latter groups consisted of local New York singers. A handful of concert reviews suggests that at least some of these groups had formal European vocal training, and sang both religious ("spirituals") and secular ("folk" or "popular" songs) material.[2]

Due to the lack of written sources, the recollections of older quartet singers prove useful in filling in the historical record.[3] Thurman Ruth, a South Carolina native and the leader of Brooklyn's most celebrated jubilee quartet, the Selah Jubilee Six, recalls that numerous local quartets were springing up in Harlem and Brooklyn by the late 1920s.[4] Groups such as the Grand Central Red Caps, the Eastern Star, the Excelsior Four, the Sunset Jubilees, the Golden Crown, and the Jubilee Stars sang regularly at Sunday afternoon and evening programs held at small black churches. Such events commonly took on the format of song battles or contests, where two or more quartets would compete and be judged on the excellence of their harmony and articulation.

Ruth and other elderly New York singers suggest that many early community-based quartets attempted to pattern themselves after the "formally" (European) trained college and other professional groups of the time. In keeping with this tradition, the local quartets tended to specialize in slow tempo "harmony" or "barbershop" singing that featured intricate four-part harmonies rendered in a relatively smooth, long-phrased fashion with minimal (guitar or piano) or no instrumental accompaniment. These slower songs were particularly popular in song contests, as they afforded vocal groups the opportunity to showcase their harmonizing abilities.

By the late 1930s many local groups were adapting the quicker paced "jubilee" singing popularized by groups like the Norfolk Jubilee/Jazz Singers and the Golden Gates. The jubilee style of rhythmic spiritual singing was characterized by lightly syncopated rhythms; short-phrased, interlocking vocal parts; percussive vocal attack; spoken/sung narrations by the lead singer; and a well developed, moving bass line. It was the jubilee style that dominated the first substantial commercial recordings made by New York City based quartets — the Alphabetical Four in 1938, and Ruth's Selah in 1939. During live performances, however, the better groups presented a mix of slower harmonizing and snappier jubilee arrangements of traditional spirituals, folk hymns, and church songs. The light, lilting style of the early New York City quartets was indelibly shaped by the Golden Gates, the Norfolks, and other quartets representing the Virginia tidewater tradition.

In terms of overall performance style, New York's jubilee/harmonizing quartets tended to emphasize smooth, complex harmony, clear diction and clean timbre (often reflecting the influence of European vocal training), lilting rhythms, and mixed repertoires which included sacred and

Selah Jubilee Singers, c. late 1930s. (Photo courtesy of Ray Funk.)

secular material. While the influences of southern, African-American traditions were probably evident in many of the community-based groups — use of blues notes, growls, falsetto swoops, and some rhythmic syncopation — by and large their singing rang with a light, airy sweetness that held great appeal to both black and white middle-class urban audiences. Further, these early groups stood relatively stationary, or "flat-footed" when they sang. Although lyrics of humorous songs were occasionally acted out, over-all body movement was minimal, and the groups never engaged in the demonstrative running, dancing, and shouting associated with post-War gospel groups. First and foremost, the early jubilee/harmonizing quartets were concerned with showing off their precise harmonies and vocal virtuosity.

The Transition from Jubilee to Gospel Quartets

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, sacred quartet singing in northern and southern urban black communities underwent a noticeable stylistic transition — one which resulted in the eventual emergence of post-War "gospel" groups and quartets.[5] The older jubilee/harmonizing quartets began absorbing the driving rhythms and ecstatic worship practices of "sanctified" Pentecostal and Holiness church music, the chanted vocalizations and emotional fervor of black folk preachers, and the sounds of Thomas Dorsey's new gospel music — an urban style that had become increasingly popular among soloists and church choirs since the early 1930s.[6] The emerging gospel quartets featured a more prominent, impassioned lead vocal, often delivered in a gruff, shouting or semi-chanted fashion; extended lead vocal improvisation; a basic antiphonal call and response structure between the lead and background vocalists; a movement of the background harmony into a higher register through the inclusion of a high tenor part and the replacement of the bass vocal by an electric bass guitar; and increased rhythmic intensity emphasized by body percussion and electric guitar/drum accompaniment. Their performances took on a distinctly evangelical tone, complete with exuberant testimonies, chanted preaching, and Spirit-induced movement and dance.

In New York City, the transition from jubilee to gospel quartet singing began in the early 1940s as a response to a complex set of social/historical developments. Contact with professional touring gospel singers and quartets was a significant factor. During the 1940s, quartet singing programs became larger and more commercial, often featuring out-of-town acts. Thurman Ruth began booking professional groups into Harlem's Golden Gate Auditorium, as halls and auditoriums, along with larger churches, became frequent sites for programs. The community-based groups turned out to see and hear influential professional groups like the Kings of Harmony, the Soul Stirrers, and the Dixie Hummingbirds. These pioneering gospel men preached, testified, shouted, dove off stages, ran around churches, and employed numerous other vocal and dramatic techniques to excite their

audiences. Local singers bought the latter's recordings and incorporated aspects of their music and movement into their own performance repertories. It was these early touring quartets, claims Ruth, that introduced the "hard gospel" style to New York City, which until the mid-1940s had been exclusively, in his words, a "jubilee town."

During the early 1940s, Thomas Dorsey's new gospel music was being introduced to New York churches by two outstanding professional female soloists, Sister Ernestine Washington, and Clara "Georgia Peach" Hudmon. Veterans of the southern sanctified church tradition, both eventually settled in New York where they became leading proponents of the emotional, Chicago-style gospel that Sallie Martin, Mahalia Jackson, and Roberta Martin had pioneered during the 1930s. Unlike their Chicago counterparts, both Washington and Hudmon occasionally used male quartets as accompanists for recordings and live performances. William Kelly, who sang with one such quartet, the Harmonaires, recalls that Hudmon often stepped out from the group to walk amidst the audience where she sang, shouted, and exhorted all present to feel the Spirit. The demonstrative vocal and theatrical techniques employed by female gospel singers like Washington and Hudmon undoubtedly served as models for male quartets, whose lead singers eventually emulated such performance practices.

While the influence of early touring gospel quartets and professional female soloists was strong in New York, it must be kept in mind that both borrowed freely from the musical worship practices of the southern black folk churches, and their choreographed stage performances inevitably owed much to this source. In fact, stepped-up southern migration during the Great Depression and the Second World War Years coupled with the growing influence of the urban Holiness/Pentecostal movement created social conditions favorable to the transition to hard gospel quartet singing in New York City and other northern urban centers.[7] In response to the social upheaval and psychological trauma caused by the urban migration experience, the southern black Protestants who poured into the rapidly deteriorating ghettos of Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant sought out and perpetuated religious institutions and artistic expressions which allowed them to maintain their most important beliefs and practices. Dissatisfied with the impersonal, formal nature of the established northern churches, they founded their own storefront places of worship where they could perpetuate the emotional, southern-style evangelical Christianity they grew up with. Unmoved by the staid, European-style hymn singing favored in the middle-class churches, the recently arrived migrants turned back to the familiar spirituals, folk hymns and sanctified music from their southern homeland, and eventually to Dorsey's new southern-derived gospel songs.[8]

An analogous situation apparently developed with regard to quartet singing. Evidently the pre-War jubilee/harmonizing quartets lacked the rougher, more emotive vocal delivery, the heavier rhythmic emphasis, and

the intensely spiritual tone that characterized the worship of many southern folk churches. Gradually the expanding numbers of southern-born churchgoers in New York City's black community became dissatisfied with this older approach to quartet performance. Audiences were no longer willing to simply sit and listen to good harmony singing; they wanted emotional involvement, spiritual sincerity, and above all, to "have church" the way they did on Sunday mornings "back home" in the South. The model for such demonstrative performance was readily available in the form of the driving music, the emotional preaching, the chanted testifying, and the Spirit-induced dance common to the Sanctified, Holiness, and other small, evangelical Baptist and Methodist churches that were mushrooming in Brooklyn and Harlem by the 1930s. While the touring commercial groups may be credited with initially introducing the more emotional gospel style to many local New York quartets, the latter inevitably drew on the musical resources of the folk church in shaping their own vernacular styles. These early community-based gospel quartets, like their professional counterparts, eventually became more concerned with "shouting the church," with the emotional fervor of the Holy Spirit than in outclassing their competitors with spectacular harmony.

Finally, a healthy war-time economy coupled with a growing sense of professionalism among local quartet singers spurred on the transition to "hard" gospel quartet singing in New York City. By the time of the second World War, the city's rapidly expanding southern, black, working class population demanded (and could pay for) popular entertainment to fill periods of leisure time created by their new urban/industrial lifestyle. The proliferation of semi-professional and professional sacred quartet singing during this time was a response to this need. But, as increasing numbers of quartets were paid for their services — including the better local performers who sang on weekends but who did not tour fulltime — singers came under pressure to produce more polished, "professional" performances that were artistically and spiritually pleasing to their paying clientele. Rather than falling back on older models of professional quartet performance — the jubilee and minstrel quartets whose smooth harmonies pleased white secular as well as black church audiences — the emerging gospel quartets turned to a more southern, church derived style. This is not surprising, considering the quartets were now singing to audiences consisting almost exclusively of rural, African-American migrants who were intimately familiar with such traditional expressions from their earlier southern church experiences. The incorporation of testimony, preaching, demonstrative vocal styles, body percussion and movement, and Spirit possession into quartet performance, struck an enthusiastic chord with listeners who wished to maintain a sense of southern identity and "downhome" religion in their new urban home. Elements of professional showmanship and folk religion were skillfully intertwined by early gospel quartets in the creation of a slick, urban form of popular entertainment

that was firmly rooted in rural southern folk music and worship practices. Their performances undoubtedly served to ease the tensions caused by

Charlie Storey and the All Stars, 1945. Photo: Diaz & Rogers.

migration and urbanization, as they afforded participants the opportunity to engage in an art form that is simultaneously professional/urban and downhome/rural.

The emergence of gospel quartets and the subsequent decline of the jubilee/harmonizing style among New York City singers was a gradual pro-

cess. The popularity of professional resident jubilee groups like the Golden Gates and the Norfolk Jubilee/Jazz Singers undoubtedly contributed to the tenacity of the jubilee style among local New York quartets. Members of the Golden Gate Quartet continued to record and broadcast their magnificent jubilee style singing throughout the 1940s, before eventually expatriating to Europe where they are based today. Ruth's Selah Jubilee Six also maintained a basic jubilee style, although they did incorporate some gospel compositions into their repertoire, and their repetitive background phrasing on slower songs certainly suggests some gospel influence. The group continued to record and tour during the 1940s, eventually resurfacing in New York in the 1950s to cut several rhythm and blues tunes under the name The Larks.

Elements of professional showmanship and folk religion were skillfully intertwined.

During World War II, the military draft split up some of New York's older groups, including Alton Griffin's Golden Crown. Others, such as the Eastern Star and the Excelsiors continued to sing in the local churches, presumably maintaining their older jubilee/harmonizing style. The Jubilee Stars of Brooklyn recorded several jubilee sides on the Haven label in 1947 before disbanding. The Sunset Jubilees made a number of jubilee style recordings in the later 1940s, and eventually gravitated toward the more gospel inflected sound they have today. The Sunsets, like many sacred quartets of this period, maintained both jubilee and gospel style songs in their active repertoires. Eventually, however, most groups either adopted elements of the new gospel style, or faded from the scene, replaced by younger exponents of the "hard" gospel quartet style that would dominate the post-War years.

By the 1950s, gospel style quartet singing was firmly entrenched in New York City. Although New York never produced a quartet of the magnitude of Chicago's Soul Stirrers or Philadelphia's Dixie Hummingbirds, a number of noteworthy groups emerged. The Harlem-based Skylight Singers, who began as a jubilee quartet in the early 1940s, recorded several classic hard gospel pieces for Vee Jay label in the 1950s and enjoyed a successful touring career. The Mighty Gospel Giants, who recorded on the Tuxedo label in 1956, became one of Brooklyn's stellar quartets. The Brooklyn All Stars, a group Charlie Storey sang with in the early 1950s, began touring as professionals shortly after making some excellent recordings for Peacock in 1958. The Brooklyn Skyways, who remain one of New York's most respected quartets, were organized in the late 1950s. In addition, countless other quartets and small groups were formed during the post-War years, most of whom sang locally and never recorded.

Sacred Quartet Singing in the '80s

New York City, currently home to the largest and most diverse African-American population in the United States (1.7 million), continues to boast a thriving gospel scene. Every weekend hundreds of choirs, quartets, and soloists appear at churches and community centers throughout New York City's black neighborhoods of Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant, Jamaica, and the South Bronx. While choirs and soloists often provide musical interludes during Sunday morning church services, gospel groups and quartets perform at specially designated Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon gatherings known as "gospel programs" or "gospel anniversaries." Smaller gospel programs, often held in storefront churches, feature three or four gospel quartest. Larger programs and anniversaries held in larger churches, schools, and theaters present up to a dozen groups, often including several professional out-of-town acts. Quartets usually sing *gratis* at the smaller programs, donating funds raised through a "free will offering" back to the sponsoring church, or to some worthy cause. Better known quartets are paid to perform at the larger programs where admission is by pre-paid ticket. Their compensation is usually minimal, and is deposited in a group fund to cover transportation, equipment, and uniform expenses.

The smaller, community-based gospel programs take on many of the trappings of a Sunday morning service. Both, for example, begin with a "devotional service" consisting of congregational singing, prayer, a scripture reading, and a period of personal testimony. This devotional service is an essential component of the gospel program, as it serves to set a spiritual tone to the overall gathering by reminding listeners they are "here to have church" rather than to simply "see a show." While the Sunday morning service proceeds with the preacher talking center stage, in the gospel program it is the singers who deliver God's message through sung and chanted words during the main "song service" segment of the event.

During a typical song service, the atmosphere is extremely competitive, as each quartet is delegated a performance slot of approximately fifteen minutes. Although groups no longer engage in official "song battles" as they did in the past, most readily admit they are attempting to out-sing their competitors. Lead singers are expected to be able to "work" their congregations in order to "build the spiritual feeling." They accomplish this through a number of performance strategies including the prefacing of songs with lengthy chanted narratives and personal testimonies; shifting from a sung to a chanted/preached vocal delivery during improvisory "drive" or "gospel" sections of songs; switching lead singers in mid-song, or having two lead singers improvise together in a call-and-response fashion; and engaging in various dramatic gestures and movements such as acting out song lyrics or prancing up and down the aisles.

While such expressive behaviors are most certainly meant to demonstrate artistic competence and showmanship, they ultimately create an emotionally charged atmosphere which is conducive to bringing on the

experience of the Holy Spirit.[10] During a particularly moving performance, singers and congregation members may become overcome by the power of the Holy Ghost, and enter into states of hyper-arousal in which they shout, cry, chant in prophetic speech, run through the audience, or holy dance. Some participants may actually re-experience the feeling of their original conversion experience, while others simply rejoice in the immediacy of the Almighty's presence (see also Allen 1987b; and Marks 1982).

The emotionally charged atmosphere of a vigorous gospel performance can bring on possession by the Holy Spirit.

In its ritualized frame, community-based gospel music becomes more than simply Sunday afternoon entertainment. Through song, chanted testimony, and the Spirit-induced shout, gospel performance serves the dual role of reaffirming the faith of believers while bringing the Christian message to unsaved, potential converts. Moreover, such performances express symbolically a sense of temporal continuity between the past, present, and future experiences of African-American Christians. Song and narrative encourage believers to honor their southern heritage and ancestors, to experience the liberating power of the Holy Ghost in the immediate present, and to anticipate a glorious future in heaven. A sense of collective identity as southern black Christians is clearly reinforced.

An interesting array of styles is represented at a typical gospel program. Most quartets sing in the straight-ahead, hard gospel fashion with electric guitar, bass, keyboard, and drum accompaniment. Groups consisting of middle-aged, southern-born singers such as the Brooklyn Skyways, the Wearyland Gospel Singers of Corona, Big Nick and the Gospel Heavyweights of New York, and the Gospel Crowns and the Sons of David of Brooklyn exemplify this post-War quartet sound. However, a number of the younger New York-born singers have become increasingly drawn to the so-called "contemporary gospel" sound popularized by commercial stars like Al Green, Andrae Crouch, and the Winans. Such contemporary singers have adopted a smoother approach to vocal and instrumental shadings, use richly textured, synthesizer-tinged harmonic accompaniments, and lack the fiery testimonies and evangelical tone of the older hard gospel groups (Boyer 1985). But most of the city's more popular young quartets, such as the Spiritual Voices and the Golden Sons of Brooklyn, and the Ecstatistics of the Bronx, take pride in their ability to sing both the hard and contemporary gospel styles, a versatility which allows them to reach congregations of all ages. And finally, a diminishing number of older quartets including The No Name Gospel Singers and pre-war jubilee/harmonizing styles that are rarely heard on commercial recordings or radio.

The No-Name Gospel Singers of Brooklyn, performing in Washington Square Church, New York City, 1986. Photo: Ray Allen.

The Heavenly Tones, in Brooklyn, 1986. Photo: Ray Allen.

Heavenly Tones of Brooklyn, the Faithful Harmonizers of St. Albans, and the Golden Jubilees of Jamaica, continue to sing in the more traditional,

While the commercial gospel industry is presently dominated by soloists, choirs, and a handful of nationally known quartets, community-based quartet singing continues to play a vital role in New York City's African-American church community, and in others like it throughout the United States. Local gospel quartets raise money for financially strapped churches and charitable causes, and attract new members for small, struggling churches. But perhaps most importantly, these groups provide their listeners with aesthetic pleasure, spiritual uplift, and a sense of shared ethnic and historical identity as southern black Christians.

NOTES

1. Today the term "jubilee singing" is generally used in reference to the syncopated, "rhythmic spiritual" style of quartet singing popularized by groups like the Golden Gate Quartet in the later-1930s. Confusion arises because the pre-1930 harmonizing quartets and the earlier college groups (such as the Fisk Jubilee Singers) also referred to themselves as "jubilee" groups. While the latter tended to emphasize conventional European harmonies and simple rhythms, the former introduced more syncopated rhythms to quartet singing.
2. For example, 1932 review of the Grand Central Red Caps praised the group for its outstanding musical ability and original arrangements of "spirituals, old southern melodies, and folk songs, and occasional popular tunes." See the *Amsterdam News* (July 6, 1932), p. 8.
3. The bulk of the information on New York's community-based jubilee and harmonizing quartets is based on interviews with older New York Singers including Thurman Ruth of the Selah Jubilee Six, Alton Griffin of the Golden Crown, Charlie Storey of the Jubilee Stars (and later the Brooklyn All Stars), Sam Abrahams of the Skylight Singers, Clifton Johnson of the Golden Jubilees, and William Kelly of the Sunset Jubilees.
4. Thurman Ruth organized members of Brooklyn's St. Mark Holiness church into a vocal group called the Selah Jubilee Six in 1927. The group performed almost exclusively in New York City churches until the early 1940s when they began touring and singing regularly on radio WPTF in Raleigh, NC. See Seroff (1982b).
5. Evidence suggests that Birmingham, Dallas, Houston, and Chicago boasted the earliest influential gospel quartets. In these cities groups like the Famous Blue Jay Singers, the Soul Stirrers, and the Kings of Harmony were experimenting with "hard" gospel techniques during the late 1930s. See Seroff (1985: 42-43) and Heilbut (1985: 75-93). For additional information on the jubilee to gospel transition see Rubman (1980), Tallmadge (1981), and Lornell (1988).
6. For further historical background on the role of sanctified music and the contribution of composers such as Thomas Dorsey to the rise of gospel music see Heilbut (1985: ix-xxxv, 21-35, 173-186), and Levine (1977: 174-189).
7. Between 1930 and 1940, New York City's black population rose from 327,706 to 458,444 — an increase of approximately 40%. Stepped-up migration between 1940 and 1950 increased the population from 458,444 to 727,977 — an increase of nearly 60%. Figures from *New York State Census, 1930, 1940, 1950.*
8. For more on the rise of storefront churches and the revival of older, southern-style worship and music practices among lower class, southern black migrants in northern urban areas, see Frazier (1966: 58-60); Paris (1982: 25-27); and Mays and Nicholson (1933: 94-113).
9. The descriptive data presented in this section is drawn from field research conducted by the author over a three-year period beginning in the summer of 1985. The performances described are typical, however, of gospel programs from the 1950s up to the present (with the exception of the data concerning "contemporary" gospel quartet singing, which is a more recent phenomenon). For further discussion of gospel quartet singing in New York City see Allen (1987a).
10. Worth noting is the fact that some of the older members of the African-American church community are often critical of quartets who over-indulge in dramatic techniques such as running, dancing, preaching, pulling off jackets and ties, and so forth. Such behavior may be dismissed as "clowning" and "showboating." Quartets making excessive use of these practices run the risk of being accused of putting on a "show" rather than singing under the influence of the Holy Spirit. The fine line that separates those who truly "sing in the Spirit!" from those who simply "sing for a show" reflects a deep-seated sacred/secular tension in the community.

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The Anglo-American Fiddle Tradition in New York State

SIMON J. BRONNER

British settlers spread their fondness for dancing to the accompaniment of the fiddle across the North American continent. A single fiddler could rouse a whole community, even in the back reaches of the colonies. The fiddle helped to carry Old World culture across the new nation. With his old familiar tunes and a style that recalled the mother country, the American country fiddler could lead dances, lighten the load at work bees, delight the young, and raise conversation at the village crossroads. Portable and capable of a rich piercing sound, the fiddle was the common backdrop for North American work and play.

New Englanders coming to New York State in great numbers during the late eighte nth and early nineteenth centuries brought their fiddle-tune tradition with them. In one respect the New Englanders who moved to New York outdid their British cousins. Dancing became even more the rage in New England than in Old. Among the favorite dances were jigs, reels, contra dances, cotillions (forerunner of the square dance), quadrilles, minuets, and hornpipes. Commonly relying on the storehouse of British tradition, many of the old tunes for the dances were converted to the new national spirit. In 1807, for example, *A Selection of Cotillions & Country-Dances* offered the "Federal Cotillion" along with the old "Money Musk." That same year, *Collection of the Most Celebrated Figures of Cotillions and Contra Dances* included "Humors of Boston," "Jefferson and Liberty," "American Fair," "Democratic Rage," and "Independence."

Still, the old British Isles tunes persisted. One reason for this was that the familiarity of the tunes helped to signal the dances. Another was the repetition of the short tunes to accompany dances. Both dancers and musicians easily remembered the tunes and called for them at dances. The shared repertoire also lent itself to communal music-making at social gatherings where many instruments could be heard joining in unison on a folk tune.

The British fiddle tune was almost free of syncopation; notes were brief and distinct. The melody had a clear, lilting quality. Many listeners have also noted the "endless" character of the old fiddle tunes; the last strains

Figure 1.
"Hull's Victory," played by Mellie Dunham on fiddle. Recorded on Victor 40131, New York City, 19 January 1926. Dunham was a fiddler from Maine who played with characteristic New England stylings.

Figure 2.
"Dance of the Haymakers," by William Sydney Mount, 1845. Painted from a scene near Setauket, NY. (The Museums at Stony Brook.)

lead easily to the repetition of the tune. Typically, the tune has two parts (A and B), which are structured in the tune as AABB. In New England and New York, quadrilles and jigs in 6/8 time, along with hornpipes and reels in 4/4 time are especially common. The repertoire is typically diverse, but attempts to find "New York's favorite tunes" have revealed some recurrent preferences from the font of Anglo-American tradition (Osborne 1952: 213-15; Bronner 1987). Although names for tunes are notorious variable, they offer an idea of the traditional Anglo-American fiddle-tune repertoire. Among the hornpipes, one commonly hears Durang's, Sailor's, Fisher's, Lamplighter's, Hull's Victory, and Rickett's; among the reels, one hears McLeod's, Opera, Virginia, and Chicken; among the quadrilles and jigs, there are Larry O'Gaff, Haste to the Wedding, Irish Washerwoman, and Blackberry. Other standards of the fiddle-tune repertoire include Soldier's Joy, Turkey in the Straw, Devil's Dream, Girl I Left Behind Me, Money Musk, Arkansas Traveler, Wilson's Clog, Rakes of Mallow, Wind that Shakes the Barley, Buffalo Gals, Black Cat, Flop-Eared Mule, and Wake Up Susan.

Although many of the tunes used in America came from British sources, American musicians did put their own stylistic stamp on them. American performances tended to take away the ornamentation common

to the British originals. Americans also regularized the beat and gave the music a bounciness in place of the drones common in many British tunes. In the numerous repetitions of the tune, with perhaps slight variations around the melody in each strain, fiddlers drew praise for their precision and consistency. The style lent itself to the demands of performing country dances through a long winter's night and to duets with a fife or another fiddle. And while repetition and refinement rather than improvisation and elaboration became watchwords of the Anglo-American aesthetic, musicians picked up new tunes and retitled old ones, many of which took a poke at the British. A prominent example is "Hull's Victory," probably modeled after an English drinking song and Scottish dance tune, honoring the American sea victory in 1812 off the coast of Nova Scotia (see Fig. 1).

American musicians put their own stylistic stamp on the British originals.

The fiddlers, mostly men, often performed alone (see Fig. 2). The fiddler would be called in especially when a house dance occurred. Sometimes called a kitchen "junket," "whang," or "hop," the dance was held in a farm family's home. The fiddler was called on to play and shout calls. To lead the dancers, the fiddler's style usually required a strong rhythm, which came through by heavy bowing. Novelist Hamlin Garland gives an excellent account of hearing dance music from New York during his boyhood in the 1870s:

> At this dance I heard, for the first time, the local professional fiddler, old Daddy Fairbanks. His queer "Calls" and his "York State" accent filled us all with delight. "*Ally* man left," "Chassay *by* your pardners," "Dozy-*do*" were some of the phrases he used as he played *Honest John* and *Haste to the Wedding*. At times he sang his calls in a high nasal chant, "*First* lady lead to the *right*, deedle, deedle dum-dum — *gent* foller after — dally-deedle-do-do *three* hands round" — and everybody laughed with frank enjoyment of his words and actions (Garland 1917: 94).

The sounds of Yorker fiddlers like Daddy Fairbanks are mostly lost in the undocumented everyday round of life in communities, but accounts of some exceptional nineteenth-century fiddlers went beyond local reputations. Around Delhi, New York, well into the Catskills, Alva Belcher's fame lives on in a reel bearing his name. Born in 1819, Belcher until his death in 1900, was in the words of a newspaper account from the 1920s, "an attraction that was sure to draw a crowd" (Anonymous 1926: 1). Folk music collector Sam Eskin recorded a version of "Belcher's Reel" from Wordell

Figure 3.
"Belcher's Reel," played by Wordell Martin on fiddle. Recorded by Sam Eskin, Prattsville, Greene County, 1948.

Martin of Prattsville, Greene County, in 1948. A variant of the British Isles tune "Mason's Apron," the tune was probably attached to Belcher because of the difficulty of the tune's execution (see Fig. 3). In imitation of Belcher, Martin plays the many quick notes of the tune without slurs, a technique that requires fast separate bows across the strings.

The best documentation of the old tradition comes to us through the commercial recordings of John McDermott (1869-1957) from Cortland (Fig. 4). McDermott owed much of his repertoire to the older "Happy" Bill Daniels (1853-1923) of Varna. By 1926 McDermott had achieved the title of State Fiddle Champion and was already claiming the world championship. As one resident of Cortland remembered,

> John played by ear. He didn't improvise at all and he remembered all his tunes — he had instant recall. He played things like "Devil's Dream, "Turkey in the Straw," "Money Musk," "Irish Washerwoman," "Tips from the Bough" — a quadrille, "Chicken Reel," "Lancers," "Soldier's Joy." He had a rhythmic sound playing short, clean notes. He had the bow quite a ways up and held his fiddle under his chin.

Just before the end of 1926, McDermott headed for New York City to record commercially for Brunswick. Listed on the label as a "Pioneer Fid-

Figure 4.
John McDermott, c. 1940. (Cortland County Historical Society.)

dler and Caller," McDermott recorded "Happy Bill Daniels Quadrille" on two sides, and "Virginia Reel Medley" on two sides. His Virginia Reel medley includes two traditional Anglo-American fiddle tunes, "Miss McLeod's Reel" and "The Girl I Left Behind Me." As was often the custom, the title that McDermott chose for the medley refers to the dance rather than the tunes used. In the medley McDermott shows his range of tradition and simultaneously the sources that gave life to his performance of old-time music. His fiddling bounces out a sure but light beat. Like most other New York and New England folk fiddlers, McDermott uses long and short bowing strokes to punch out an uncluttered and unhurried melody. McDermott's emphasis on rhythm is distinctive as is his "shuffle" that shows off his dexterity on the bow. The shuffle is a version of a tune known early in the nineteenth century in Scotland and America as "Fairy Dance."

The light, separate bowing typical of most northern fiddlers can be heard when the fiddler added accompaniment, which became more standard toward the end of the nineteenth century (see Fig. 5). The preferred accompaniment was the piano. Many Yorker parlors had pianos for family singing, but on Saturday night, they provided the steady, on-the-beat rhythm the fiddler demanded. The accordion, and occasionally the harmonica or "mouth organ," were brought along when no piano was available. The house dances were, as fiddler William Dingler recalled, "a community affair."

Figure 5.
Old-time string band from Otsego County, NY. Photo by P. Telfer, c. 1900 (New York State Historical Association).

> Word would pass from mouth to mouth. They had meetings up here in the country where the farmers help each other. They'd gather hay, harvesting corn — they'd have parties in that. If a man wanted to fill his silo with corn, there'd be five, six, half-a-dozen different farmers come help bring the corn in, put it in the cutter, it was a day's work. They'd talk to each other, then they'd go home and figure out a night to have a party — they were sociable in that manner. They usually set up in the front of the house — dining room and parlor about winter time. They usually had just a violin or possibly a piano or accordion. The fiddler usually done the prompting. There were usually just one or two sets in one room. They had usually a midnight snack — pretty good feed. It was mostly standard dances. There were also clogs; once in a while you'd get a Virginia Reel. I'd play "Turkey in the Straw," "Devil's Dream," "Oh, Those Golden Slippers," "Money Musk" — all those.[1]

During the early twentieth century, especially when the towns began swelling with rural migrants, the old-time fiddling sound could be heard

increasingly in dance halls. The larger crowds demanded a bigger sound. Old-time bands added tenor banjoes, guitars, and basses to the fiddles. Woodhull's Old Tyme Masters from Elmira, probably the best known band in New York State, was composed of the elder Fred Woodhull, a carryover from the old house-dance days, and his sons Floyd on accordion, Herb on tenor guitar, and John Woodhull on guitar (Fig. 6). Fred had taught his sons the old Anglo-American tunes such as Soldier's Joy and Irish Washerwoman and to bring the music up to date, the sons adapted new popular songs to square dance calls. During the 1940s, the band recorded many discs for Victor Records. Other well-known bands, typically with family connections, such as Ott's Woodchoppers from Ithaca and the Hornellsville Hillbillies from Hornell, crisscrossed the state still featuring the Anglo-American fiddle-tune tradition. Underscoring the changes occurring in twentieth-century New York State, the bands often dressed in hillbilly garb when performing the old tunes. The tunes were proudly handed down from the parents and grandparents of these musicians, but in the eyes of a modern age the tunes were increasingly cast as rustic and "old-time."

Figure 6.
Woodhull's Old Tyme Masters, 1939. Left to right: Herb Woodhull, John Taggart, John Woodhull, Fred Woodhull, Floyd Woodhull. (Courtesy Floyd Woodhull.)

Meanwhile the lone fiddler was being hailed in state and county fairs and minstrel shows. The State Fair in Syracuse annually held a fiddle contest which received wide attention. In 1927, the *New York Times* reported that "John McDermott of Cortland, well known throughout the state as an old-time fiddler with his playing of 'Money Musk' and 'Fiddler in the Straw' will be one of the judges." McDermott's duties were substantial, because he had to choose among at least twenty-one fiddlers from "all sections of the state." The list would probably grow, organizers thought, and they contemplated restricting contestants to those over the age of sixty. Setting the backdrop for the contest was a log cabin that reminded fairgoers of their Yorker heritage. "The old log cabin," the article explained, "was taken to the fair last year and was representative of the agricultural home of 100 years ago. A large entry list is desired and the keen competition, when the old-time masters of the violin engage in the battle of the bows, is expected to furnish an entertainment which will again make the old log cabin the center of attraction" (Anonymous 1927: 7).

By the end of World War II, commercial recordings and public appearances of the old-time music became less frequent, but the tradition was nurtured in the family circle and village crossroads. Around Cooperstown, New York, for example, where I did much field research, Anglo-American fiddle music calls to mind the legacy of prominent music-making families going back to the nineteenth century. Residents will tell you of the McLeans, the Weirs, the Hugheses. While they point to the changing favor in the "towns" for "western" music and rock and roll, they still boast of a stronghold of Yankee old-time music stretching through the small crossroad villages of Delaware, Otsego, and Chenango counties in Central New York State.

Prominent in the life of these villages are characters like Elial Glen "Pop" Weir (1890-1965) from the "North Country" near Gouverneur, New York. Working in the lumber camps, he became adept at fiddling as well as lumbering. As his son Dorrance explains, "My father used to be a lumberjack and they take a fiddle into the camp with them. They would go in the fall and they stay there all winter. Out of sheer boredom they would play tunes and make up songs."[1] Pop continued his playing at home as well. His wife accompanied him on piano, and the two of them played house dances. Pop moved his growing family to Otsego County in the 1920s. Music united the family, now housing twelve children, at evening gatherings. Five of the children took up instruments and they all joined in the spirit of the tradition at home and at "play parties" at other homes.

At his general store, Pop kept two or three fiddles on the wall. Other old-timers and some not-so-old timers would join Pop for mid-afternoon fiddling sessions. They ran through tunes such as "Rickett's Hornpipe" (see Fig. 7), "Sailor's Hornpipe," "Money Musk," "Soldier's Joy," and "Opera Reel." Pop's son Les remembered the sessions at the store this way: "Their fiddle music was old jigs and reels and Scottish tunes and Irish tunes and

Figure 7.
"Ricket's Hornpipe," played by Pop Weir on fiddle. Recorded by Milo Stewart at Violet Weir's home near Cooperstown, NY, c. 1960.

some Irish ballads were popular." Dorrance adds, "People would come from miles around to hear my father fiddle. He fiddled clean, you know, it wasn't any of the slurry notes and all that." Pop maintained the plain bowing and old-fashioned moderate tempos that he inherited from the nineteenth-century dance tradition. Because Weir fiddled, some youngsters commonly asked him to play southern pieces like "Orange Blossom Special" that were coming over the radio, but Pop let his displeasure about the cluttered style and scurrying tempo of these pieces be known by calling them "God damned rebel tunes." Judges at New York State old-time fiddling contests must have agreed with Pop's opinion, because he took first in two contests at Oneonta and Schenectady that he entered during the 1950s.

Despite Pop's admonitions, the influence of radio and commercial country music could be heard in the playing of Pop's children. The pace is faster, and double stops (i.e., the simultaneous sounding of two strings) and slurred notes have entered the style of many fiddle-tune performances. But still Pop's music calls the family together at reunions and holidays. Especially true to the old-time fiddling of Pop is Les Weir, a talented carpenter by trade, who still lives near the old family home in Oaksville. "Well, it's come

down through the family," he explains. "We played so much, but we never really had a band, as you know it now. We played with whoever was entertaining. It was a family thing, a community thing. We played at people's houses; we played at Grange halls, we played at barn dances." Pop's daughter Violet also carries on many of Pop's tunes and has passed them along to a new generation of Weirs. In 1984, the family, now numbering almost 150 relations directly from Pop and Ma Weir, held a reunion in a Fly Creek hall. With Violet Weir's daughter offering a guitar backup, Violet and Les brought back memories of Pop with renditions (probably done faster than Pop would have liked) of "Lamplighter's Hornpipe," "Rakes of Mallow," "St. Anne's Reel," and "Wind that Shakes the Barley."

Something happened during the 1980s. Returning sons and daughters demanded to know where their culture had gone. Today, Anglo-American fiddling is enjoying a resurgence.

Despite the growing collection of New York's old-time fiddle tunes from living practitioners, there were still some pundits who claimed a demise of the tradition during the 1970s. But something happened during the 1980s. Sons and daughters who had left for the cities after high school came back to the country. They demanded to know where their culture had gone. Surveys revealed a renewed faith in family life and regional heritage, and as if to prove the point, a wave of family reunions hit picnic grounds across upstate New York. Fire halls opened up for square dances again and various museums and organizations hosted fiddlers' "conversations" and contests (Fig. 8). Reversing a once gloomy forecast, folk music collector Samuel Bayard announced that "genuine traditional fiddling seems to be experiencing something very much like a 'comeback,' with higher technical standards than those of former times, and numerous upcoming young players appearing in towns as well as in the countryside" (Bayard 1980: 11).

During 1981, the young New York State Old Tyme Fiddlers Association purchased a building for the "North American Fiddlers Hall of Fame and Museum and a New York State Branch." To draw attention to the music's country roots, the organization put the museum in rural Osceola, New York. In the old-time music stronghold of Chenango, Otsego, and Delaware Counties, a new organization arose to support traditional music. Known as the "Del-Se-Nango Olde Tyme Fiddlers Association," the group began in 1978 as a spinoff from the New York State Old Tyme Fiddlers Association. It sponsored a Yankee square dance caller's contest, an old-fashioned waltz contest, a fiddlers festival, and many local dances. "These

Figure 8.
Fiddlers' Conversation at the New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, 1978. Left to right: Bill Shampine from Delhi, Hilton Kelly from Fleischmanns, and Les Weir from Oaksville. (Courtesy Roderick Roberts.)

dances," the organization's newsletter pointed out, "are something that rural New York used for entertainment prior to the days of improved, faster travel. Neighbors got together, rolled back the rug, danced and helped provide the evening repast" (Anonymous 1986: 17). Although contra dancing disappeared by World War II, the piece continued, and popularity of square dancing suffered during the rock and roll period, the "traditional dances" are back, and residents are again thinking of the region as the "Heartland," not backlands "of the Empire State." Maybe the music provides active entertainment for a health-conscious society, maybe it just prevents life from getting electronically homogenous and dull; maybe it provides a participatory connection with authentic heritage in the midst of a passive age; or maybe it gives a sense of community in an overbearing mass culture, a new form of regional pride. For one or all of these reasons, Anglo-American fiddling and dancing in New York State is enjoying a resurgence.

This resurgence does not mean that the old order has come back. The context of association-sponsored contests and picnics has put an organizational structure on what was once a spontaneous family and community

setting for old-time music. Associations have taken the lead in maintaining tradition because they connect scattered networks of old-time-music devotees into a cohesive group. The public displays of dance and music are less spontaneous than they once were, but they lack none of the vitality. The associations work at the grassroots level and often awaken some spontaneous celebrations of the old music within crossroads communities. In at least one place I know, the tiny Otsego County hamlet of Salt Springville, residents pitched in to restore a large Dutch barn which they then used for regular barn dances as well as housing for a food cooperative and community meetings.

The appeal of the old music has responded time and again to different generations. It has been the tool of nation-makers and community boosters, industrialists and farmers, parents and children. The cultural role that old-time fiddling performed for an agrarian nation has changed in today's technological society. The continuance of the old-time fiddling tradition reminds us of the need for reaching back into the richness of our regional cultures, of our families and communities. As we speed headlong into the technological future, old-time music still has something for us. With the helping hand given by fiddlers' organizations, arts councils, and cultural agencies, communities can go beyond regional festivals to reinvigorate the sense of cultural continuity and tradition at their crossroads, in their fire halls, and in their homes. The old fiddler's craft has not died, but more documentation is needed in the oft-neglected terrain of the Northeast to see the tradition in its full cultural dimensions.

NOTES

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1. Quotations from interviews come from field collections in central New York State between 1974 and 1978, unless otherwise indicated.

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Survival of Greek Folk Music in New York

SOTIRIOS (SAM) CHIANIS

Introduction

The folk music of Greece is related to both classical Greek and Byzantine church music. Certain folk dances as well as poetic and musical meters are directly related to classical traditions, while certain modes (scales), melodic characteristics, and ornamental devices are clearly derived from Byzantine ecclesiastic music. It would be erroneous, however, to speak of a specific type or style of folk music which can be considered common to the whole of Greece. Over the centuries, several stylistically distinct musical traditions have developed as a result of Greece's geographic position in relation to the other Balkan cultures and to those bordering the eastern Mediterranean Sea.

Music is found in every region and island of Greece and is a vital part of every event in village life. The bride and groom are taken to church with the sounds of processional music provided by local musicians. During the reception, the newlyweds are praised with songs of long life and prosperity. Villagers sing traditional road songs as they return home from a long day in the nearby fields or after a night of celebrating in the local coffeehouse. Mothers lull their babies to sleep with lullabies; the dead are mourned with laments. For village people, music not only serves as a means of self-expression, but is truly an inseparable part of daily life.

In general, Greek folk music may be divided into two main classifications: the music of the mainland, and of the islands. The mainland regions of Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly, Roumeli, and the Peloponnesus are each considered distinct musical areas set apart from one another by regional customs, dialects, types and categories of folk songs and dances, modes (scales), accompanying rhythms, musical and poetic meters, melodic ornamentation, structural forms, and types and uses of folk musical instruments.

The folk music of Roumeli and the Peloponnesus is rather similar in terms of melodic styles, repertoires, and dance types. While the *tsamiko, kalamatiano,* and *syrto* are among the most common folk dances of the regions, *klephtic* songs constitute a large portion of the total repertoire. Performed in free-meter and in a highly melismatic style, klephtic songs relate

the heroic efforts of the *klephts* (freedom fighters) in battle against and liberation from the Turks. The typical folk ensemble of these regions consists of a clarinet, violin, *laouto* (lute), and *santouri* (hammered dulcimer).

Two characteristic instrumental forms of folk music from the region of Epirus are the *skaros* and *mirologhi*. Both are extended improvisatory pieces set in pentatonic modes (five-tone scales) and performed in free-meter over a drone on the tonal center. The most expressive types of dance music are the *samandaka, berati, pogonissio,* and *singathisto.* These dance tunes are performed in a slow deliberate tempo while the rhythmic accompaniment is kept rather simple in order to allow the soloist as much melodic flexibility as possible. The most common folk ensemble is composed of the clarinet, violin, laouto, and *defi* (tambourine).

The region of Macedonia has some of the most interesting folk music and dances in all of Greece. In addition to the clarinet, violin, and laouto ensemble, instrumental groups consisting of the clarinet, cornet, trombone, and drums are highly characteristic in the vicinity of Kastoria and Kozani. In Naoussa, however, a pair of *zurnas* (oboes) played to the rhythmic accompaniment of the *daouli* (a large double-headed drum) is typical. Numerous unique folk dances in complex asymmetric meters are among the distinguishing features of the central area.

Thrace possesses an extremely rich song tradition. Folk dances such as the popular *zonaradhiko* are performed in a lively tempo. The *gaida* (bagpipe with a drone) and Thracian *lyra* (a type of bowed rebec), both accompanied by the daouli, continue to be a vital part of Thracian folk music.

The musical style of Thessaly is a mixture of the bordering traditions of Epirus, Macedonia, and Roumeli. One of the most characteristic folk dances of this region is the *karagouniko.*

Island folk music, though generally of a "lighter vein," is quite varied. One of the richest sources of music is found on the island of Crete. The typical duo of lyra and laouto provides much of the lively dance music. Rhymed couplets or distichs, known as *kondylies,* are found in eastern Crete while the *mantinadha* tradition is popular along the northern coastal areas. From western Crete come the songs known as *rizitika.* These very ancient song forms use the decapentasyllabic (fifteen syllables) text line and their highly ornate and melismatic melodies are sung in traditional antiphonal style.

Typical of the Ionian Islands, a group of islands along the west coast of Greece, is the *cantadha* (serenade) sung in three- or four-part harmony and accompanied by violins, guitars, and at times mandolins. Distichs are preferred on the Cyclades and Dodecanese islands and the typical folk ensemble consists of the violin, laouto, and santouri.

Greek Music in New York: Social Settings

During the first decade of this century, approximately 170,000 Greeks (95 percent of whom were males) entered the United States; many settled in New York. The typical immigrant belonged to a peasant society, came from a small mainland village, was highly patriotic and individualistic, and was devoid of technical skills and a knowledge of the English language. Furthermore, he was a product of a nation with a long cultural history richly endowed with folkloristic and religious traditions. Above all, he was accustomed to expressing his nostalgia, his love, his sadness and happiness through music and dance (Chianis 1982: 3).

The Greek coffeehouse tradition was transplanted to America soon after the first immigrants arrived. The coffeehouse served as an important sociocultural center where males gathered to discuss current events and politics in Greece, their jobs and common problems of adjusting to life in America, and to play cards, gamble, read Greek-language newspapers, and share news of their homeland with compatriots. But the coffeehouse was also a place where the patrons could sing, listen, and dance to folk music from various parts of Greece. Music was often performed by the patrons themselves using folk musical instruments belonging to the coffeehouse. On weekends and on special holidays, enterprising coffeehouse proprietors would hire the services of well-known professional musicians. It is important to point out that many professional and semi-professional folk musicians earned a living, cultivated their artistry, and expanded their repertoires by performing in coffeehouses.

The coffeehouse eventually became a shadow of its former self, a memory of early immigrant days, even though in some communities it has survived to this day. One can only conjecture what the social life of the male immigrant would have been had it not been for the companionship and diversion provided by this very special Greek institution (Saloutos 1964: 83).

Dancing was an integral part of engagement, wedding, and baptismal receptions as well as picnics, name day celebrations, religious and national holidays. It is interesting to note that contrary to contemporary practices, musicians were seldom paid a set fee for their services. According to folk traditions brought from Greece, the lead dancer would request a particular dance type or a favorite tune. Since the leader was most often a male, he was then obligated to pay the musicians whatever he wished. If he happened to be an exceptionally good dancer, several of his friends would "throw" substantial amounts of money to the musicians. The length of a particular dance or tune largely depended on the amount of money given

to the musicians. "Another custom in evidence at weddings [and most all types of celebrations] was the practice of wetting one-dollar and five-dollar bills with the tongue and sticking them on the foreheads of the musicians" (Saloutos 1964: 87).

Recognizing the supreme position folk music held in the lives of immigrants, the two giants of the recording industry, Columbia Graphophone

Figure 1. *Spyros Stamos (seated at the santouri) in Roumeli, Greece.*

Company and the Victor Talking Machine Company, began issuing 78 rpm double-sided foreign discs as early as the first decade of this century. Among these early recordings, of course, were numerous examples of Greek folk music featuring such outstanding immigrant artists as Athanasios Makedonas (violin), Christos Gamvas (violin), Andreas Patrinos (laouto), Lazarus Rassias and Melas (santouri), G. Kassairas and Kyriakakis (clarinet), and the incomparable soprano voice of Mme. Koula (or Coula).

RCA's early recordings of Greek music are important historical documents of a rich and highly varied musical tradition.

During the early 1920s, two privately owned Greek record companies were established. They devoted practically their entire output to Greek folk music. These historic firms were the Panhellenion Phonograph Record Company of New York City and the Greek Record Company of Chicago, Illinois. The latter, formed by two distinguished immigrant musicians, Spyros Stamos (cimbalum; Fig. 1) and George Grachis (violin), quickly earned a national reputation by featuring prominent folk artists of the era. In addition to Stamos and Grachis, the artists included Amalia (vocal), the singer A. Katsanis (better known by the nickname Mourmouris), Angellos Stamos (vocal), Konstantinos Patsios (vocal), Marika Papagika (vocal), Epamenondas Asimakopoulos (vocal and laouto), Harilaos Papadakis (vocal and Cretan lyra), and the folk clarinetists Nikos Relias and Konstantinos Fillis.

In 1928 the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) purchased the famous Victor Talking Machine Company. Two years later Tetos Demetriades, with his expertise and vast experience as former head of Victor's foreign division, approached RCA with a truly historic proposal. Demetriades' plan was to record various categories of music in Greece and issue the discs in America. RCA, undoubtedly aware of the potential market for this music, agreed to underwrite the project. During his two-year stay (1930 to 1932), Demetriades managed to record some of Greece's finest instrumentalists and vocalists. Upon his return to New York City, Demetriades began distributing these recordings on his famous *Orthophonic* label (which bore the note: "Manufactured by RCA Victor Company for the Standard Phono Company of New York").

Though the collection included some excellent Turkish music (recorded in Constantinople) and Albanian examples, the majority of the music was Greek. Demetriades judiciously catered to the highly varied musical appetites of the Greek immigrants. For example, in his general catalogue of Orthophonic records dated June, 1941 (Fig. 2), no less than 172 records

were of two-steps, tangos, fox-trots, and waltzes. All of these dance tunes were sung in Greek by artists such as Sophia Vembo, Kakia Mendris, Nikos Gounaris, and even Demetriades himself. The collection also included Greek serenades (some accompanied by Hawaiian guitars and mandolin orchestras), comical songs and dialogues (sketches), and examples of music of the Greek Orthodox church.

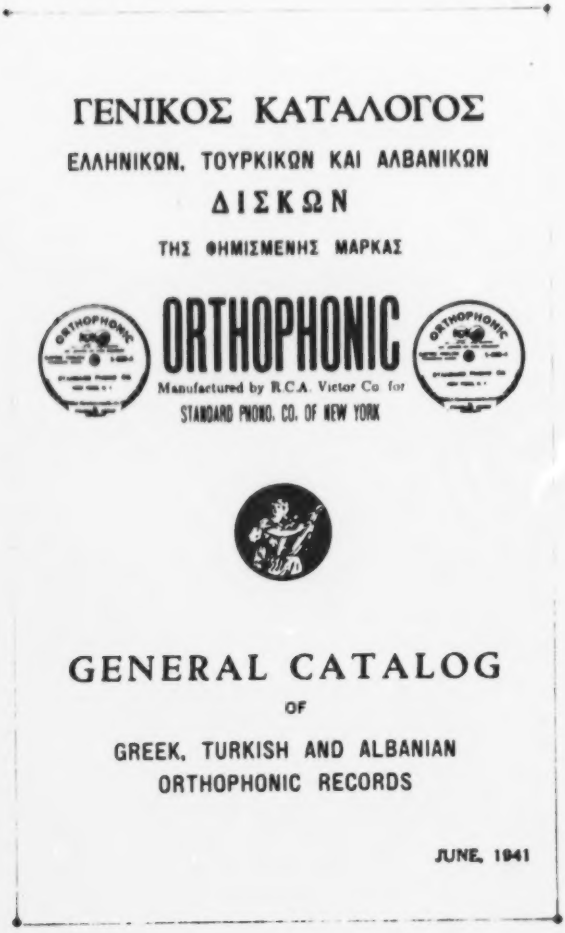

Figure 2. *Title page of Tetos Demetriades' General Catalog of Greek, Turkish and Albanian Orthophonic records.*

But the most important musical contributions of Demetriades were his recordings of *rebetic* music of the Greek subculture, *Anatolian* music (the musical traditions of Greeks residing in or originating from the Asian Minor cultural centers of Smyrna and Constantinople, now Izmir and Istanbul

78 rpm labels of Greek folk music issued in America, ca. 1910-1932.

respectively), and the folk music of Crete, Cyprus, and the Greek mainland. It should be emphasized that Demetriades' recorded collection of mainland folk music, made during an era that I like to refer to as "the golden age of Greek folk music," succeeded in capturing for posterity the unequaled artistries of such truly great professional folk clarinetists as Nikitas, Apostolis Stamelos, Nikos Karakostas, Konstantinos Karagiannis, Baios Malliaras, and Christos Margielis. Among the vocalists were Georgios Papasideris, Demetrios Benetos, and the immortal female voices of Rita Abatzis and Rosa Eskinazi.

Recordings of Greek folk music in America and those imported from Greece are extremely important historical documents of a very rich and highly varied musical tradition. They also provide a remarkable opportunity for the study of styles, artists, instrumentation, melodic ornamentation and improvisation, and regional repertoires. Equally important is the fact that these recordings accurately reflect the types of live music that were performed at weddings, on name days, in coffeehouses, and at picnics and holiday celebrations sponsored by churches and Greek societies.

Greek Music in Print

The Greek-language newspapers assumed an important role in the lives of immigrants. They provided news from villages and regions of Greece to those who had not yet learned to read English. The *Atlantis*, the second Greek-language press in America, was founded in New York City in 1894. It provided immigrants with books published in Greek in a variety of subjects including folk music. Its first collection of music made its appearance in 1912.

In 1923 the Apollo Music Publishing Company of New York City initiated a series of publications of Greek folk music for various instruments (Fig. 3). The sheet music, comprised mostly of dance tunes, offered the performer a choice of either playing the "simple melody" or the "artistic" one which more closely approximated the melodic ornamental practices of folk musicians. Though these publications were of immense importance and were distributed throughout America, they were not intended as performance editions for professionals. They simply served the important task of acquainting immigrants and their offspring with the rich musical heritage of Greece.

Greek Musicians' Union of America "Apollon"

In October of 1918, a group of immigrant musicians concerned about the state of Greek folk music in America gathered together in New York City and organized the *Greek Musicians' Union of America "Apollon"* [*Elliniki Mousiki Enosis en Ameriki "Apollon"*]. It is important to note that its president, Ioannis Demetropoulos, the board of the directors, and the entire membership were actively involved with the performance of Greek folk music either as professionals, semi-professionals, or amateurs. The

Figure 3. *Title page of Greek dances and songs for clarinet, violin, mandolin and cornet. Apollo Music Publishing Company, New York, 1923.*

organization's prime objective was to preserve Greek folk music in America. Unfortunately, the organization was dissolved in 1921.

The Making of Musical Instruments

Two of the most popular folk music instruments of Greek folk music were the laouto and santouri. Although most immigrant musicians brought

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their instruments with them, there soon was a tremendous demand for new ones. An oustanding craftsman of Greek folk instruments was A. Stathopoulos of New York City. Exactly when he began making instruments is not known; however, it is well known that his musical instruments were highly prized by folk musicians throughout America. I recently examined a laouto of his (1915 vintage) owned by the late Charles Leounis of Binghamton, New York. Despite its age, it was in excellent condition. The printed label inside the instrument gave the following information:

No. 5724 Style '' Date May 1915

This instrument is manufactured from materials that are especially selected and well seasoned. Workmanship and construction are unexcelled. It is guaranteed against defects and remains climatically unaffected.

A. Stathopoulos
Manufacturer of Musical Instruments
New York, N.Y. U. S. A.

The soundhole or rose of the laouto is ornamentally carved from a separate piece of hardwood and bears the initials of the maker:

Rubbing of the soundhole
(Reduced)

The Rise of Bouzouki Music

Until the end of World War II, Greek folk music of America as well as in Greece remained relatively unchanged. The prevailing musical style, repertoire of dance songs, and the instrumental ensemble and its performance practices were definitely that of mainland Greece, since the majority of immigrants originated from the regions of Roumeli and the Peloponnesus. The clarinet and violin of the ensemble performed the melody in heterophonic style, the santouri (hammered dulcimer or cimbalum) added an additional layer of melody, while the laouto was confined to rhythmic and harmonic accompaniment. However, musical as well as extra-musical events in Greece were to have dramatic effects on the folk in Greece and eventually in America.

The new post-war urban middle class, with unique social needs, created bouzouki *music.*

Following the World War, Greece was devastated by a long and bitter civil war. Country folk abandoned their villages and flocked to urban centers to seek work and a "better" way of life. As a result, a huge urban middle class society was created. The folk songs and dance traditions that these people brought with them were no longer "suitable" for city life. Also quite unsuitable was the *rebetic* musical tradition "left over" from pre-war years that spoke of miseries, loneliness, poverty, pathos, and jails. What the middle class needed, then, was a type of music, dances, and lyrics suitable to their social environment. The answer, of course, was the tradition known as *bouzouki* music or popular music. The ensemble included one or two amplified bouzoukis (a long-necked lute), an amplified guitar, drums and other Western instruments. This music was so enthusiastically accepted in Greece that Greek entertainment clubs in New York City and around the country began booking entire bouzouki ensembles directly from Greece for their Greek-American clientele. Folk ensembles began borrowing its repertoire and instrumentation. When professional folk clarinetists Tassos Halkias, Apostolis Stamelos, and Vasilis Saleas came to America to perform in New York entertainment clubs, they brought with them a *new* folk performance style. The old folk ensemble of violin, santouri, and laouto gave way to an ensemble of amplified guitar, drums, and electric organ.

On very rare occasions, folk music programs are presented in the traditional style with traditional musical instruments. Most often, however, folk and popular Greek music performed in New York and throughout America is provided by bouzouki ensembles. Populous cities throughout the state of New York have at least one such ensemble that performs music for weddings, church and community sponsored dances, and holiday celebrations.

Churches now hold annual festivals and bazaars where one can sample food, enjoy listening and dancing to live folk and popular music, and witness young men and women performing all types of folk dances in national costumes. Greek-Americans young and old take pride in preserving the rich folkloristic heritage brought to America by their parents and grandparents.

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Writing While They're Singing: A Conversation About Longhouse Social Dance Songs

MICHAEL SAM CRONK

When I asked an Iroquoian friend what she thought people should know about traditional Longhouse social music, she replied, "Why not tell them that Iroquois songs and dances are alive and well — and living at Allegany, New York!" We both laughed — but what she said underscores something often overlooked: Longhouse singing *is* alive, continuing, flourishing at Allegany and at least 10 other Iroquoian communities.[1]

Haudenosaunee[2] culture is an ongoing way of life, based in part on the *Gaiwi:yo:h*, or "Good Message" of Seneca prophet Handsome Lake, and on the Great Law of the Iroquoian Confederacy.[3] In these communities, singing is an integral part of celebration and healing; it is one way of relating to and communicating with the world around you. But how does a non-Native person develop an understanding of "music" in Iroquoian communities? How do you *write* meaningfully about these "oral" traditions? And how do Native singers in these communities react to what has been written about them?

For me, these fundamental questions have been at the heart of conversations with Iroquoian singers during the past three years, as part of my work with the SPINC (Sound-Producing Instruments in Native Communities) research project, based at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada.[4] In this brief introduction to traditional social dance music, I would like to relate my understanding of certain basic concepts of Longhouse philosophy, and to explore how this world view challenges the way we write ethnographies and folklore.

Going to the Social

Ohi:yoh ni jongwe no	We've come from Allegany;
eyagwadeno:de	we're gonna sing.
Do:ges neho gae:niyo	We've got good songs
eyagwadeno:de	we're gonna sing.
gai no wi ya:h, he ya:h	Gai no wi ya:h, he ya

— Seneca *eskänyeh*[5]

There are three basic "categories" of traditional Longhouse songs: social dance songs, or *yoëdza'geka:'*, "the earth kind"; ceremonial songs, thanking the Creator and other forces for their continued help; and songs for curing society "doings," which assist both individuals and communities. A quick survey of literature about Iroquoian culture suggests that far more has been written about music at ceremonies and "doings" than at social occasions.[6] But when I first talked with Iroquoian singers, I soon realized that many have strong concerns about non-Native interest in these fairly restricted and often quite personal events; some people question the need of the non-Native public to have access to information for which it has no practical use. Even within these communities, restrictions are in place to safeguard ceremonial and curing songs from misuse and exploitation. Social dances, on the other hand, are far more public; they can be sung any time there is cause for celebration — at weddings, after Longhouse ceremonies, at family gatherings.

In many of these communities, people get together every few weeks during the evening to have a "social" at the Longhouse. Sometimes, these gatherings are held after Longhouse dinners or "tea meetings" which raise money for upcoming events. The Longhouse itself, *ganöhse:s*, is a rectangular, single-story wooden building, often painted white. This structure is at the heart of many traditional social, ceremonial and political events in the community; like the songs, like the people themselves, it is considered to be alive.

Socials usually start around 7:00 p.m. One enters the building through either the men's or women's doors. At first, most people sit on benches along the wall, relaxing, talking with friends, joking with one another. Then, several people (usually Longhouse faithkeepers, who act as "deacons" in the community) decide who will organize the evening, choosing the head singers and a speaker to announce the dances. Once this is settled a speaker stands up by the benches, reciting the *Gano:nyonk*, or "Thanksgiving Address," which opens and closes every Longhouse event. This address, spoken in Iroquoian as are all speeches and announcements in the Longhouse, acknowledges all the environmental and spiritual forces "from the earth to beyond the sky"[7] which help humanity survive. In some Longhouses, visitors are then formally introduced to the community and everyone comes forward to shake their hands.

The first social dance "set" (or "song cycle") is always the Standing Quiver. After this is announced, a lead singer and a group of other men who "help prop up the song" stand up, moving towards the men's fireplace at one end of the building. They dance while singing, moving in a single line first around the fireplace, and then around the entire dance area in a counter-clockwise direction. This is the only social dance sung without instruments — the beat is established by the rhythm of the songs and by the dancers themselves as they move around the Longhouse.

The set consists of five to 15 short songs, each lasting from 20 to 60 seconds. Songs are sung antiphonally; the lead singer begins each song, singing a short rhythmic phrase consisting of vocables; others respond with an answering phrase, in a call-response style. After a few songs, more dancers join in as the speaker encourages everybody to get up and dance.

The next set at every social is a Moccasin dance. For this set, singers sit on a bench in the center of the Longhouse. Someone brings out a bag of cowhorn rattles and singers sort through them, deciding which instrument best suits their voice. The lead singer generally uses a water drum, a hand-held instrument made from wood or plastic pvc tubing, which contains a small amount of water to tune the drum head. Everyone has a favorite rattle or drumstick. Again, the lead singer starts each song, but others "pick it up" at the first melodic repetition; together, in unison, they finish the songs.

The Moccasin dance is one of the most popular sets among young people; it's fast and fun. Many people have told me they would rather dance this than sing. Usually, men begin to dance first, moving in a single line around the singers' bench. After several short songs, pairs of women join in, two women dancing in line between two men. Mid-way through the song, the drum beat alters slightly, and men and women dancers change pace; the next time the beat "shifts," the dancers change back again, a man resuming the lead. All are joking, laughing as they dance, cheering on favorite songs.

Socials always begin with these two sets — but after that, there is no specific order — singers can choose any set they like. There are at least 30 different social dance sets, some consisting of up to 60 or more songs. Every set has characteristic melodies, rhythmic patterns and dance steps. Some, like the Standing Quiver, are danced single file by men and women. Others are "couples dances," with men and women dancing as partners; many of these, such as the Rabbit and Alligator dances, have been borrowed and adapted from other Indian nations.

The speaker gets up again, encouraging everyone to "help out the singers." There is no audience at a social; everyone is involved, taking part, whether they are singing, dancing, or talking with friends. People know these songs and dances by heart, having joined in at socials since they were infants, carried around by their mothers on the dance floor.

As the evening continues, the Longhouse gets quite warm and steam fogs up the windows. Sometimes, the Longhouse gets so crowded that there is hardly room for dancers to move. The floor shakes like the surface of a big drum — even while sitting, participants move to the beat. Singers alternate between fast and slow sets, appealing to dancers of all ages and ability.

Most socials end around 11:00 p.m., depending on the occasion. The last dance is announced, the last song ends. Again, the speaker stands

and recites an abbreviated version of the *Gano:nyonk*, completing the cycle of the evening; and then everyone goes home.

Like the *Gano:nyonk*, social dances express a relationship between people and the world around them; through these dances, they thank the Creator for those gifts "put on this earth," celebrating that they too are part of this earth. This interrelationship of people, environmental and spiritual forces is central to Longhouse philosophy: everything, everyone is related, everything has a purpose.

Some social dances have existed as long as people have existed.

Eskänyeh songs: Continuity and Change

Ya ya ya ya ya	Ya ya ya ya ya
Heh wa do ahwe ojeh	What the heck!
s:ho Indian Beatles	Indian Beatles it will turn to
E wo do:h	(we'll become)
Gai no wi ya:h, he ya:h . . .	Gai no wi ya:h, he ya . . .

— Newtown *eskanyeh* c. 1965

For several years, I have been particularly interested in one kind of social dance, the *eskänyeh*, or "ladies shuffle dance" (sung by men or women, but danced only by women.) It is thought to be one of the oldest Iroquoian dances, existing as long as people have existed. It is also one of the few sets for which new songs are regularly composed.

At least twice a year, singing societies from different communities get together for a "sing," which is a type of intercommunity social, lasting from noon until evening. Every group performs one set of *eskänyeh*, "seven songs twice through"; unlike a social, however, no one dances during these performances.

"Sings" are a kind of friendly "competition," although I use that word cautiously. In Longhouse philosophy, the ability to sing is considered a gift from the Creator for the benefit of the community; competition for personal gain is not encouraged. Singing societies are primarily charitable organizations, raising money or otherwise helping as needed; singing is only one of their activities.

The biannual "sings" began in the 1960s, developing from more informal get-togethers after Longhouse ceremonies. As long as they can remember, however, singers have been meeting to share *eskanyeh* songs; the oldest, called "Columbus" or "Wagon train" songs, are thought to date back well over a hundred years.

At "sings," unlike most socials or *any* Longhouse ceremonies, people are permited to use tape recorders. In fact, most singers have fairly exten-

sive collections of *eskänyeh* tapes, some dating back to the late 1940s. This makes it comparatively easy to become familiar with a broad range of songs from different communities and different eras.

Allegany singers at the Council of Three Rivers powwow, Pennsylvania. Photo by Sam Cronk.

Eskänyeh song texts consist of vocables and/or short phrases in Seneca, and occasionally in English. Some singers use English phrases *as* vocables, choosing words for their sound or rhythmic quality, rather than their linguistic meaning. Many popular *eskänyeh* are humorous. Some feature musical "jokes," such as unexpected silences part way through a song. Texts might be comic, such as the "Indian Beatles" *eskänyeh*, recognizing the impact of "rock and roll." Many songs provide a wry social commentary; for example, a recent example from Akwesasne, New York ends with: "Cigarettes, bingo, gasoline/ What's this world coming to? *Gai no wi ha:h, he ya . . .*" Through *eskänyeh*, singers are able to address the very serious issues which confront their community. Humor provides a way of releasing tension, of "putting things in proper perspective" — it is a gift that many Longhouse singers share.

Borrowing and adapting other musics are also part of this tradition. New *eskänyeh* may be entirely original, or may incorporate texts and tunes from other songs. The possibilities for recombination are endless. In the 1930s and '40s, some *eskänyeh* adapted popular "cowboy songs." A widely

Iroquoian and Anishnabe dancers at N'amerind powwow, Ontario. Photo by Sam Cronk.

sung one uses the melody from "My son calls another man Daddy;" its text consists entirely of vocables, and the musical structure is characteristically Iroquoian, but the original "cowboy" tune is quite recognizable. Other *eskanyeh* borrow from folk songs such as "Turkey in the Straw," or "She'll Be Comin' Round the Mountain." More recently, some *eskanyeh* have shown very strong influences of "powwow" singing in their pitch, tempo, melodic structure and vocal style.

Singers recognize these influences and changes as part of a natural development or growth of the *eskanyeh* singing "tradition." Clearly, some changes are considered to be more desirable than others — older people often find new songs too fast to dance to — but change in itself is not thought essentially bad. Of course, there is a range of views as to what may, or may not, be acceptably adopted from other cultures, and other musics — everything non-Iroquoian is not equally welcomed in Longhouse communities. But *eskanyeh* sets, whether accompanied by plastic or wooden water drums, borrowings from "cowboy" or "powwow" songs, recorded or learned by memory, reflect a pattern of change and continuity that is part of a *living* tradition. It seems that much of the strength of Longhouse philosophy stems from this ability to borrow and adapt selectively, yet in doing so, to maintain a separate and distinct identity as *Haudenosaunee*, and, at a broader level, as *Onqwe' o:weh'* or "real people/first people" of North America.

Writing While They're Singing

Gagwegò wi nò na:h	Everybody
de yoh ya:h do we do:h	should think about
ga:e de gwa hè dweh	where we are going
Ga whe hè dweh	Where are we going?
ga whe hè ge:h	where am I going?
Gai no wi ya:h, he ya:h	Gai no wi ya:h, he ya

— Avery's *eskanyeh*, Allegany

There are as many ways to write about music of other cultures as there are people and disciplines who do so. Some favor interpretive or "thick" descriptions of events; others, more detailed analyses of specific musical style and structure. Obviously, folklorists, anthropologists, and ethnomusicologists will each shape what they write according to their interests, professional training and competence. But how do Native communities react to what has been written?

Writing about other musics is rather like half of a conversation — what is lacking is some immediate, tangible response from the singers themselves. Like many researchers, the SPINC group has been developing an ongoing dialogue with the communities with whom we work, checking to see if what we are writing is reasonably coherent, accurate and relevant. I have found such conversations with Longhouse singers and speakers to be extremely rewarding and provocative, often challenging the way I think and write about music.

Many Iroquoian singers are not comfortable with the way Longhouse concepts about traditional songs and dance are translated into English; as with any shift from one language (or culture) to another, meanings are often

lost or changed. One singer told us that he found English to be rather utilitarian, functional, flat — it lacks the poetry and depth of meaning of his own language, and so for him it could not express *Haudenosaunee* philosophy very adequately.

The English word "myth" is unacceptable to Iroquois; "traditional" is inaccurate, and "sacred" and "secular" have no equivalent in any Iroquoian language.

Others identify specific words or phrases they find problematic. For example, many singers are not satisfied with the phrase "social dance" — they tell me that these dances are not "social" (in a secular sense) at all. We often use this phrase when talking together in English, but none the less, it can be misleading. It seems best to avoid labels such as "sacred" or "secular" when discussing Iroquoian songs or traditional culture. These worlds have no exact equivalents in any Iroquoian language; and in communities where a spiritual sense is so pervasive, it becomes meaningless to sort things in this way. Everything, every song, has a purpose.

We often discuss other words that are part of the common repertoire of folklore studies and ethnography. Some words, like "myth" are seen as very perjorative by these singers. Labelling their beliefs "myths," they feel, suggests that these are only "stories" or "illusions," something not to be taken seriously. The word "traditional" also has to be used with care since it is defined by Native and non-Native communities in so many different ways.[8] To some Iroquoian people, a "traditional" person is one who speaks an Iroquoian language fluently. For others, a "traditional" person strictly adheres to Longhouse beliefs (rather than Christianity or other Native religions). The closest Iroquoian equivalent I have been taught is *ongwe' o:we:ka:'* or "the Indian way" — which implies both a distinct way of understanding and living in this world.

In other conversations, we have discussed broader labels that shape much of what has been written about Native culture — labels such as "assimilation" and "acculturation" (or culture loss), and "Pan-Indianism," (or, the merging of several cultures into one inseparable western Indian tradition). Native and non-Native communities alike have set many of these labels aside, recognizing that they reflect more about a deeply rooted image of "Indianness" that pervades non-Native academic and popular thought than Native reality.[9] Of course, whatever words or labels we choose, this process of "categorizing culture" is part of a Euro-North American tradition of sorting and ordering the world, of explaining cultural change and continuity.

Finally, some singers are concerned that we might miss the meaning of social dance songs as a result of our "process of analysis." They realize

that we (researchers) find value in transcribing songs or studying dance patterns and melodic structures, but caution that we may still not recognize the heart or life of a song. Analysis can, of course, turn songs into "objects," something detached, unconnected to "real life;" and emotional, subjective responses to songs, dances and events don't always fit comfortably in "ethnographic" publications. And yet, without the emotional aesthetic response, it is difficult to fully appreciate the purpose of social dance songs, or the life within them.

There is no one simple definition of social dance songs, or socials. As many singers have told me, "It's individual" — people express a personal understanding of songs, of *Haudenosaunee* culture in general, in slightly different ways. Some Longhouse singers have told me that these songs and socials create a sense of well being, that they are emotionally healing and enriching. Others have said that these get-togethers make them "feel as alive and as human as the music is." Social dances are certainly not the only kind of music existing in Longhouse communities, but they are integral to these communities. The rich repertoire of songs and dances are important in reaffirming the sense of "relatedness" and community so essential to Haudenosaunee culture.

A Native friend once told me,

> It's strange — but it's the ending of these events that I always remember most clearly. People saying goodbye, moving towards their cars, pausing for a parting joke, shaking hands. Sometimes I can't stay until the end. I have to leave with the music still going, and as I go outside, I can hear the drum and the sound of the voices all the way to my car. Sometimes, I hear it even after I've left, because I know that they're still singing.

And so they are.

NOTES

1. Other Longhouse Iroquoian communities include: Akwesasne (intersecting New York, Ontario and Quebec); Cattaraugus, Tonawanda, Onondaga, and Oneida, New York; Six Nations and Oneida Settlement, Ontario; the Oneida of Wisconsin; and a Seneca-Cayuga community in Oklahoma, where the Longhouse ceremonial cycle continues. It should be emphasized that I am discussing only one kind of "music" in these communities in this paper, specifically, Longhouse social songs and dances. Other types of music may range from bluegrass to rock, from singing to powwows, or listening to Patsy Cline tapes, to collecting Motown records — all part of the cultural reality in contemporary Iroquoian society.
2. *Haudenosaunee* means "People of the Longhouse."
3. There are, of course, differences among communities. At Cattaraugus and Allegany, for example, there are no acting Seneca hereditary chiefs; at Six Nations, an elected band council coexists with the Confederacy (not "sanctioned" by the Canadian federal government.) At Akwesasne, there are some differences expressed by Longhouse people supporting the Confederacy and the *Gaiwi:yo:h*, and those who place less emphasis on the Handsome Lake Code. Of course, it is not surprising that a range of views exists among the six Iroquoian nations, considering the differences in historic background among these communities and the physical distances separating them.

4. I would like to thank my colleagues at SPINC, Dr. Beverley Cavanagh and Franziska von Rosen, as always, for their insight and support; I would also like to acknowledge the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC) for financially assisting the SPINC project. Again, many thanks to the singers at Newtown, Akwesasne, Six Nations and Allegany, for their friendship and generosity; without them there would *be* no paper.
5. Thanks to Fi Jimmerson, Allegany, who helped greatly with these translations; she uses a slightly different Seneca orthography, as do many people in this community.
6. See, for example, Weinman 1969; over 180 entries specifically deal with ceremonies, medicines, curing rites and ceremonial material culture; I could find fewer than 10 entries (outside historical, biographical, and physical anthropological archaeological entries) that specifically deal with Longhouse *social* events and music.
7. Foster 1974 presents an excellent discussion of the Thanksgiving Addresses from Six Nations, Ontario.
8. For other discussions of "defining" and "identifying" what is and is not "traditional," see Dundes, et. al., 1984; Clifford 1988 (with its wonderful "machine for making authenticity"); and Doxtator 1988.
9. Edward Bruner, among others, describes the series of "narratives" of successive "stories" which have been put forward to explain change and continuity in Native cultures (Bruner, et. al. 1986: 139-155). Some of these narratives, however, such as the myth of the "vanishing Indian," are remarkably tenacious.

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Traditional Japanese Music in New York State

LINDA FUJIE

In recent decades, performances of traditional Japanese music[1] have increased dramatically in New York State, most notably in New York City. The most important reasons behind this growth in musical activity include 1) the increased curiosity among Americans about the cultural life of Japan, 2) the increased importance placed on foreign tours among Japanese artists and politicians and 3) a resurgence of interest in Japanese ethnic identity among Japanese-Americans. In the midst of this activity, an interesting development during the past decade has been the significant involvement of Americans not of Japanese descent in Japanese music performance and teaching in New York State. The diversity of both the music performed and those who perform it reflect well the cultural heterogeneity of the Empire State.

In present day Japan, genres of traditional Japanese music are commonly categorized as either "classical" or "folk" in nature.[2] So-called "classical" genres consist of various forms of vocal and instrumental music, both solo and ensemble, which have evolved over the past 1,300 years. *Gagaku* — frequently called the oldest form of orchestral music in the world — is a form of court music that was imported from China during the Tang dynasty, in approximately the seventh century (A.D.). The instruments used in this ensemble are derived from Chinese models and the music itself is said to be influenced by Chinese, Indian and Korean music of that period. Narrative music from the Middle Ages describes the battles between the Genji and Heike families that took place during the twelfth century, to the accomplishment of the *biwa*, a four-stringed lute. The most commonly used instruments today include the *koto* (a thirteen-stringed zither), the *shamisen* (a three-stringed lute) and the *shakuhachi* (a vertically held bamboo flute). Together, these instruments are sometimes used to form a trio known as *sankyoku*, for which many chamber pieces were written in the Tokugawa period (1600 to 1867).

The major theatrical forms, *noh*, *kabuki* and *bunraku*, rely heavily on music to convey dramatic action, and are generally classified as "classical." *Noh*, a slow-moving form of theater which uses elegant gestures and sophisticated, though archaic, language, reached its zenith in the fourteenth

century. Often featuring ghosts and spirits as main characters, *noh* developed under the sponsorship of the aristocracy and has retained its elitist connotations through the years. *Kabuki* and *bunraku*, or puppet theater, on the other hand, gained popularity among the townspeople of Edo (present day Tokyo) and Osaka during the Tokugawa period, and is still popular with lower middle-class merchants in those two cities.

"Folk" and "Classical" Music

Music labeled "folk" in Japan includes folk songs (*minyo*); and the predominantly instrumental music associated with Shinto or Buddhist ritual and celebration (*minzoku geino*). Folk songs are often associated with a specific geographical region of Japan and, indeed, the style of singing and melodic structure differs widely from region to region. For this reason, in large cities there are groups such as "The Preservation Society of Aomori Folk Songs," organized by people from that region who gather and perform their own folk songs. *Minzoku geino*, or folk performing arts, also vary greatly according to geographical location and certain forms of music (such as *matsuri-bayashi*, or ensemble music of the Shinto festival) are usually associated with specific events. (For example, the music of the Gion Festival of Kyoto differs in form and content from the music of the Sanja Festival of Tokyo, etc.) Music in this category — usually performed on a variety of flutes, drums, and gongs — has traditionally been played as an offering to the gods and, until recent years, was not heard outside of the festival context.

While such criteria as professionalism of performers and class distinctions among audiences may at one time have marked music classified as "classical" from "folk," today performers and audiences of both categories cannot be strictly differentiated by such guidelines. However, a sense of elitism is still associated with the "classical" arts, and it is from this category that Japanese government officials prefer to select music that will represent Japan in foreign countries. And without the financial backing of government and business groups, expensive theatrical productions such as *kabuki* and famous master musicians cannot be supported to undertake such tours.

In Japan itself, traditional music is still practiced and listened to by many people, who hear it at small recitals, in large theaters and over the radio and television. On the whole, however, contemporary Japanese are more cognizant of Japanese and Western popular songs and Western classical music than they are of traditional classical and folk genres. The post-war educational system, which has stressed Western music in its singing and instrumental instruction, bears part of the responsibility for this situation. Currently, if the casual visitor to Japan hears any kind of traditional music there, it would most likely be folk song. Folk songs remain the most popular form of traditional music today, both in terms of amateur and professional

performance and record sales. Television programs regularly feature professional folk singers and amateur folk singing contests.

Performances can no longer easily be classified as "folk" or "classical," except for political purposes.

A review of Japanese settlement in New York State is useful in discussing the performance of traditional Japanese immigrant music. Japanese immigration to the United States began in the latter half of the nineteenth century with the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries. Some of the earliest immigrants to New York State were students, businessmen and consular officials, who arrived as early as 1876. Within the State, Japanese have tended to settle in New York City or in its surrounding suburbs, and early businessmen in that city were active in importing chinaware, ceramics, silk and art work. In the first fifty years of immigration from Japan to New York, two social groups emerged: the relatively affluent diplomatic officials and businessmen on the one hand and the poorer workers on the other, who consisted of day laborers and the sailors who jumped ship and remained in the United States illegally (Smith 1948: 336-37). It was members of the former group (such as Ryoichiro Arai, who built up the silk trade between Japan and the United States and Chozo Koike, consul general in New York) who established the Nippon Club in 1905 and, together with prominent New York business and professional men, the Japan Society in 1907. Both of these organizations remain active sponsors for the performance and/or teaching of Japanese traditional arts today (Reischauer 1982: 16).

By the eve of World War II, clear differences between the New York State and the West Coast Japanese populations had emerged. First, the New York population was much smaller, numbering only around 2,000 at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, compared to 110,000 residing on the West Coast at that time. Secondly, there was no geographically based community in New York City that could be considered equivalent to Los Angeles' Little Tokyo or to San Francisco's Japantown. The majority of the New York City Japanese population was scattered throughout Manhattan and the other boroughs. Buddhist and Christian churches evolved into focal points for intra-group socializing, but for the most part, social interchange with Americans of non-Japanese ethnic backgrounds was less restricted than on the West Coast. According to one survey conducted in the pre-war period, 51% of Japanese men in New York State had married non-Japanese women (Smith 1948: 337).

With the outbreak of World War II, Japanese[3] living in New York State were not forced to relocate to camps, as they were on the West Coast, but many community leaders were arrested and interned on Ellis Island for

a period during the war. In the post-war years, immigration from Japan, which had been virtually halted from 1924, was resumed in 1951 and an influx of upper middle-class Japanese, mainly businessmen and their families, brought the Japanese population in New York State to 19,794 by 1970 (The Ethnic Heritage Advisory Council 1978: 109).

Several distinct attributes of the present Japanese population in New York State can be deduced from this brief historical survey. First, the Japanese population has been small compared to that on the West Coast, and on some levels, social assimilation into the larger population has proceeded at a rapid rate. Secondly, a social gap has existed for several decades separating the elite from the majority of the Japanese population, a distinction which is fed even today by a continuing influx of native-born Japanese who head divisions of major Japanese corporations or who assume important diplomatic positions in New York City. Thirdly, intra-group solidarity has been disrupted by a cultural gap between the early immigrant and American-born Japanese on the one hand and the post-war immigrants on the other. Members of the former group, many of whom grew up speaking English exclusively, feel more at home with American customs than those of the latter group, who were raised in Japan. In terms of population figures, the Japanese born in Japan overwhelmingly outnumber those born in the U.S.: as of 1970, approximately 70% of the Japanese population was foreign-born, to 30% American-born, in New York State. In contrast, the percentages are almost exactly the opposite for native- and American-born Japanese in the state of California (U.S. Department of Commerce 1970: 12-13).

In New York State, early performances of Japanese music were held mainly for the Japanese community and consisted of presentations by a few teachers of classical music (mainly *koto*) and folk dance. The latter frequently took place at Japanese church gatherings. Otherwise, classical performers from Japan organized infrequent tours of the state, presenting *kabuki* dance, *sankyoku* and *nagauta* (song derived from the *kabuki* theater) music. A major change then took place from the 1960s, when the Japanese economic recovery began to adversely affect political relations with the United States and the Japanese government became keenly interested in presenting Japanese culture to the American people. Simply put, the rationale behind this interest was based on their belief that Americans only saw the "economic animal" side of the Japanese, and that having the opportunity to appreciate the cultural side of their nation might soften the Americans' perception of the Japanese people. So, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Japan Foundation, and with contributions from many major corporations, regular tours of *kabuki, noh, bunraku* and prominent solo classical performers have been sponsored. Such tours have indeed spurred the interest of American audiences, as exemplified by the appearance of the *kabuki* actor Bando Tamasaburo in 1983 in New York, where he became something of a cult figure.

Government-sponsored tours of classical performers aimed to soften Japan's economic impact.

Given the previously discussed population statistics one might surmise that traditional Japanese music activity would be initiated and supported mainly by the segment of the Japanese population that is recently immigrated, rather than by the more acculturated Japanese who were born in the United States. However, an examination of such music-making in New York State reveals the surprising conclusion that participatory music is supported at least as much, if not more so, by the American-born Japanese as by those born in Japan. In fact, this support appears to be increasing with the younger generations. The reasons for this lie in basic generational differences between the *Issei*, or Japanese-born "first" generation, the *Nisei*, or American-born "second" generation, and the *Sansei*, or "third" generation.

Modern Preferences

Among the American-born Japanese, generational differences exert a striking influence on musical preference. In Buddhist churches in Manhattan, for example, three different generations each have different attitudes toward the use of music in their church. The oldest generation, the Japanese-born *Issei*, is most comfortable with chanting Buddhist texts and prayers in the Japanese language. Their children, the *Nisei* born in America before World War II, grew up in an era when it was important to minimalize tensions with the majority culture, and they are more accustomed to singing Buddhist hymns that are set to organ accompaniment and written in four-part harmony. On the other hand, the children of the *Nisei*, the *Sansei*, have gained confidence in their identity as "Americans" and many view their Japanese backgrounds as symbols of pride and difference. Some *Sansei*, who grew up speaking only English, have begun studying Japanese, are traveling to Japan, and are forming groups that study and perform Japanese traditional music.

In contrast, the musical preferences of the post-war immigrant population of Japanese tend to reflect musical life in Japan today, which stresses popular and Western classical music, not *gagaku* or *koto* music. This mainly upper-middle class Japanese population is simply unaccustomed to listening to traditional Japanese music on a regular basis. For them, an evening at a Broadway musical is much more enjoyable than an evening at *kabuki*. Ironically, many Japanese in New York often find that they are expected by their business and social circles to attend and support the Japanese traditional music performances taking place there — performances they might never attend back home in Japan.

So-Daiko, *Japanese Taiko Drummers. Photo by Martha Cooper, courtesy City Lore.*

If any one form of traditional Japanese music can be said to thrive among this Japanese-born population, it is the study of the *koto.* Several teachers (also post-war immigrants themselves) give lessons to pupils who are mainly Japanese females. (In Japan, the *koto* has long been considered an appropriate instrument for females to study and perform upon.) Those teachers sponsor student recitals, in which they may themselves participate as soloists or accompanists, but such events are normally small and not widely publicized.

Among the American-born Japanese, music-making tends to focus on folk forms rather than on classical instruments such as the *koto.* An important performing group in the Japanese community in New York City is a drumming group made up mainly of third-generation Japanese-Americans. Called *"So-daiko,"* this fourteen-member ensemble plays a variety of large and small drums using coordinated movements and dance steps. In some pieces, the transverse bamboo flute (*yokobue*), gong (*atari-gane*) and other Japanese instruments are also used. The origins of this *"taiko"* (meaning "drum") playing can be traced to various forms of folk drumming, particularly from western Japan, that go back hundreds of years, to ancient agricultural rites. Specific pieces that are choreographed and composed by members of this or other *taiko* groups, however, obviously have a more modern origin.

One regular performance event of *So-daiko* is the Cherry Blossom Festival, which takes place at the Brooklyn Botanical Garden each spring. Most of their performances, except for their own recitals, accompany events

So-Daiko *drumming in Flushing, Queens. Photo by Martha Cooper, courtesy City Lore.*

that are oriented toward Japan and Japanese culture. However, members of *So-daiko* claim that it is not only a Japanese identity that they are interested in exploring and projecting through their music, but an Asian-American one as well. Indeed, several of their members are Chinese-Americans and the group performs annually at such events as the Asian/Pacific American Heritage Festival, held at Lincoln Center in New York City.

Perhaps the most important participatory musical events in the Japanese community is the annual *o-bon* dancing that takes place in Riverside Park, New York City. *O-bon* dancing, a form of folk dancing that is still commonly performed in Japan today, takes place in mid-summer as a part of Buddhist ceremonies honoring ancestral spirits. At the Riverside Park event, a traditional dance teacher leads a group of dancers dressed in *yukata*, or summer cotton kimono, in the more elaborate dances, which they have spent several weeks rehearsing. Onlookers, Japanese and non-Japanese alike, are invited to participate in the simpler dances. *So-daiko* usually participates in this event as well, providing the music accompaniment and playing a few solo pieces.

The general tendency of American-born Japanese to participate in folk music events and Japanese-born Japanese to be involved in classical events (if they are involved with traditional Japanese music at all) may be seen as partly a function of the events themselves and partly related to differentiated backgrounds. Folk events such as *o-bon* dancing tend to stimulate the participation of many people and the process of instilling community spirit among the Japanese is reinforced. Classical events, on the other hand, are aimed toward the Japanese community. Their presentation is linked to cultural pride and education in the native Japanese musical traditions for the benefit of Americans as a whole and, to this end, native-born Japanese feel compelled to show their support. Furthermore, while many of the pre-war immigrant group came from rural areas of Japan, the majority of the post-war population comes from urban areas. Thus, the pre-war group and their descendents may feel more comfortable with the folk forms of Japan, while the urban dwellers have a more classical orientation.

The role of Americans not of Japanese heritage in propagating traditional Japanese music has risen in significance in the past few years in New York State. Most of these musicians actively perform and teach classical forms of music, such as music for the *shakuhachi* and *shamisen*, and *sankyoku* ensemble music. Performers such as Ralph Samuelson and Ronnie Seldin on the *shakuhachi* and Harold Burnett on the *shamisen* play regularly with Japanese performers and with their own students (who also tend to be non-Japanese) in recitals and lecture-demonstrations. These performers have all spent a period of years studying their chosen instruments in Japan, some starting with an academic background in musicology. Their activity is significant not only in that they themselves perform, teach, and lecture to Americans on traditional Japanese music. Each of these performers also

encourages masters from Japan to perform in the United States and facilitates such music-related connections between the two countries.

Non-Japanese participants are important to the maintenance of musical forms.

One reason such non-Japanese Americans have become so important to the traditional Japanese music scene in New York may lie in the fact that fewer Japanese professional musicians are willing to relocate to the United States at the present. With their artistic careers based in the Japanese setting and taking into account Japan's high standard of living, most master performers believe they could not benefit professionally or materialistically from emigrating to the U.S. Thus, these Americans, having studied the Japanese language and culture over a number of years, fill a gap that exists in traditional Japanese music performance and teaching.

Finally, the role of institutions in presenting traditional Japanese music in New York State cannot be ignored. Institutions such as the Japan Society and the Asia Society, with their relatively large budgets and heavy corporate sponsorship, are the most active in organizing and sponsoring the large-scale musical events. In recent years, these have included *kabuki*, *bunraku* and *kyogen* performances. Smaller recitals have been sponsored by such organizations as the Society for Asian Music and the Traditional Japanese Music Society.

In summary, both classical and folk genres of traditional Japanese music are amply represented through performances in New York State. The hetereogeneity of its practitioners — from Japanese-Americans to native-born Japanese to those not of Japanese heritage — can be seen as a sign of a different set of values, identities and goals in music-making that, one may surmise, are often shared with other immigrant groups. We might note that the generational segmentation among Japanese-Americans, the preference of native-born Japanese for "familiar" (i.e., Western) music instead of their own traditional music, and the importance of non-Japanese who have made a commitment to establishing cultural links between Japan and America, all correspond to phenomena found in other immigrant communities.

NOTES

1. In this article, the phrase "traditional Japanese music" will apply loosely to the body of music performed in that country before the introduction of strong Western influences during the Meiji Restoration (beginning in 1868).
2. Such a distinction is not itself generic to Japanese conceptual frameworks but is derived from Western models. Traditional performers themselves rarely use such terminology in Japan; rather, musicologists and other outside observers tend to do so.
3. Here, and throughout this article, the term "Japanese" alone will refer to all those of Japanese descent, both born in the United States and in Japan, unless otherwise specified.

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Country Dancing in Central and Western New York State

JAMES KIMBALL

> . . . then came the singing master, and the dancing parties, and society was sociable.

Many a pioneer recollection, such as this one from "Aunt Susie," recorded in an 1870 *Dansville Express* (3/20), attests to the importance of dancing among western New York's early white settlers. From New England, from eastern New York, north from Pennsylvania or straight from Europe they came, in the last decade of the 18th and through the first part of the 19th century. Cabins were built, then houses, barns, shops and churches, and for those whose religion did not object[1], there was soon room for parties and dancing masters. In an 1814 *Ontario Repository* we find the following notice:

> DANCING SCHOOL. Mr. Shepherd, respectfully informs the inhabitants of Canandaigua, that he intends to open a SCHOOL on Tuesday the 11th inst. at the Ball Room in the Jail, for the purpose of instructing young Ladies and Gentlemen the polite and fashionable accomplishment of Dancing . . . A number of new Cotillions, etc. will be introduced (*OR* 10/4/1814).

In the same year, young Hezekiah Beecher of Livonia Center wrote in his diary about a fashionable July 4th dance at a neighboring house:

> June 30 . . . at evening went to Mr. Warren's to ask my partner to go to independence ball.
> July 2 S A.M. we finished hoing corn, P.M. helped my father at hay. I had a pair of pumps of my Father.[2]
> July 4 M A.M. . . . went to Lima and got a pair of stockings $1.75 two quarts of rum $1.25 etc. . . . and got Mr. Young's mare and got me ready to go to the ball. P.M. went to Mr. W and waited upon Eliza to the ball at Esq. Gibbs and was very aggreably entertained with a supper and wine

> at the table. There was twenty two couples, two violins, we dispersed about one O'clock. Our bill was $2 . . . (Beecher 1814)

The actual dances done at Esq. Gibbs' were almost certainly the same varieties of country dances which dominated social parties and fashionable assemblies throughout the Northeast in the early 19th century: contra dances and cotillions, the former in longways sets and the latter in squares of four couples. Individual couple dances were not so likely, although in 1814 some older or conservative folks might have still done a minuet and young people were about to be introduced to the waltz.

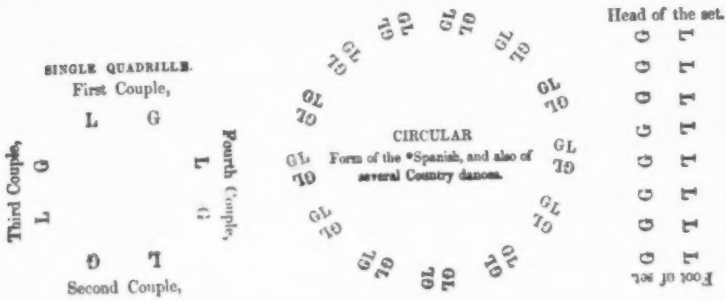

Figure 1.
The three main formations for country dances (from Howe 1859:2).

Country dances in general can be traced back to England, where as early as 1651 John Playford published dancing instructions for sets of couples in lines, circles or squares — the three principal configurations still found in America today [3] (see Fig. 1). Of the three, the longways set was clearly the favorite and by the 18th century dominated social dancing in both England and the American colonies. The square formation, on the other hand, became fashionable in France, where local dancing masters transformed it into dances called cotillons (or "cotillions," as Americans usually spelled it). These, in turn, were introduced to American society in an influx of French culture during and after our revolution.[4]

Unlike the English style contra, which usually repeated one dance figure up and down the line without change, the new cotillions allowed for constantly varying chorus patterns or "changes," which could be introduced "as the music will admit or fancy dictate" (Blanchard 1809: 20). They also allowed for a good bit of fancy footwork from those who could do it.[5] A growing demand for cotillions in American ballrooms, along with their sometimes impromptu nature, soon demanded the services of a prompter or caller, a job that usually fell to the accompanying musician. Calling had not been part of the English or French traditions, but by the

1820s it was part of American country dancing — and has remained so to the present.[6]

In 1847, George Saunders, a Rhode Island dance teacher, came out with his *New and Scientific Self-Instructing School for the Violin*, the first important book on how to both play and call cotillions and contra dances. This work was popular in western New York[7] and gives us good insight into what must have been happening in at least some local ballrooms. The cotillions are no longer "French"; gone is the fancy footwork; gone are the constantly changing chorus figures. What is left is the smooth walking square dance as Americans were going to dance it into the 20th century (see Fig. 2).

Figure 2.
A cotillion party (illustration from an 1857 West Candor dance invitation).

Saunders gives us several well organized sets of interesting figures, each of which may, at the caller's discretion, be ended with a lively finale or "jig" as many called it then, (and as many still do).[8] The dances abound with still familiar calls: grand right and left, promenade, four hands round, ladies chain, grand square, etc. He also implies that the caller may occasionally "mix the company all up" with surprise calls (Saunders 1847: 79). Squares are emphasized, but there are contras as well, plus a dance in the circle formation, the very popular Spanish Dance.

By the 1820s the rather free-spirited cotillions had been joined by the more formal "quadrilles," high society square dances which were ideally performed with genteel grace and set to music frequently taken from the latest opera. By the Civil War era, the term "quadrille" was being used by dance masters and on dance cards[9] to refer to most square dances, whether

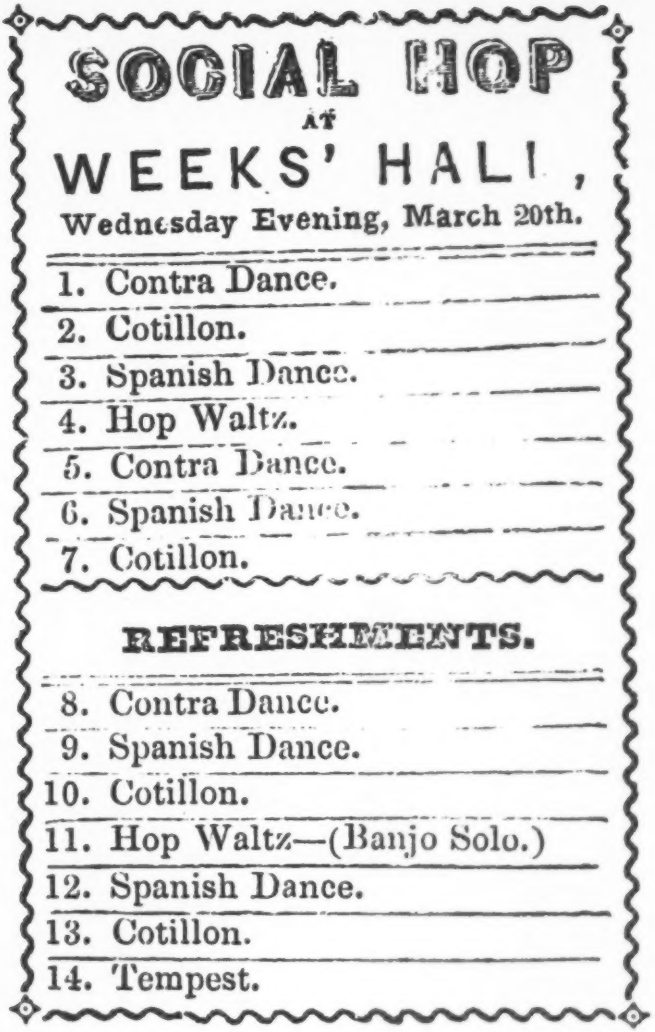

Figure 3.
A mid-19th century dance program (place unknown).

formal or not, while "cotillion" was applied to a newly fashionable set of fancy games[10] (see Fig. 3). Two formal quadrilles which went under their own names were the Caledonians and the Lancers, the latter of which was still being done in some rural New York dances at least into the 1930s[11] (Fig. 4).

Round Dancing

An especially important development in popular dancing throughout the United States, western New York included, was the arrival of round dances: the waltz, the gallop, the polka, etc. These were feared by many as being too sinful, as couples embraced in ballroom position and spun around the room. Others simply objected to their taking up too much space on the dance floor and too much time away from the quadrilles. "The sociable and graceful quadrille, the lively contra-dance, and the inspiring Virginia reel, in which young and old were wont to join, must all give way to the monopoly of the aristocratick waltz," complained one young lady to the *New York Mirror* (2/9/1839). "And for what? For the pleasure of a few mustachioed foreigners, who presume to dictate the fashions of our society . . ." In spite of such complaints, the round dances prospered and became an important part of most public dances. Indeed in the larger cities, as well as on college campuses, the round dances soon began to push the country dances off the program. By the first decade of the 20th century, a typical high school or college dance might well have no country dances at all and a Rochester policemen's ball might have only one or two quadrilles or lancers — by 1915, none.

Figure 4.
A Buffalo guard unit dance, March 13, 1874.

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Figure 5.
Dancing party in Chamberlin Hall, Ischua, c. 1905.

In rural areas, however, country dancing has managed to survive side by side with whatever new couple dances have come into local vogue. From the waltzes, schottishes and polkas of the 19th century (which may still be done at round and square dances) to the turn-of-the-century cakewalk, the two step, foxtrot, Charleston, jitterbug, or modern free-style rock and roll, if the band could play them, they could be done between the squares.

Some were highlighted in contests, with prizes to the best performers. When the round dance music started to be stylistically very different from that used for the country dances, most notably in the jazz era, many organizations took to hiring two bands, one for rounds and another for the squares. In other cases band members would become fluent on two instruments (e.g. violin and saxophone) so as to better cover the two styles.[12]

Figure 6.
Poster for a barn dance, 1920s.

Places and Seasons for Country Dancing

Up to the last decade of the 19th century nearly all dances, from rural house parties to urban society balls, included country dances of one sort or another. In the city, the music might have been supplied by a well trained orchestra and the dancing guided by a professional dancing master. In the rural party, on the other hand, both music and calls were often provided by a single self-taught fiddler (see Fig. 5). Between these extremes, of course, lay a wide range in the types of music and dances experienced by central and western New Yorkers — and there was often something special about visiting dances in a setting different from one's own environment. A Syracuse writer recounts the sleighing-dancing parties of his youth (in the 1870s or '80s):

> A favorite diversion of the period was the straw ride. This required a big box sleigh, filled to a depth of several inches with fresh straw, a supply of hot bricks and a girl for every lad. The bricks were superfluous, however, if your companion was not adverse to snuggling up. Straw ride parties usually drove out to the country hotels at Cicero, Brewerton, or South Bay for a big chicken or frog's legs supper. The dance which followed invariably ended with a Virginia reel. The music was provided by a little orchestra of country fiddlers — and how they could play "Turkey in the Straw," particularly after they had been warmed up with a few drinks of hard cider. The leader, generally quite a character, kept time by stomping his foot as he called out the figures: "Salute your partners . . . forrrard an' back . . . swing the opposite lady . . . gents in the center . . . all hands round . . take your places . . . first couple sashay down the middle!" It was usually long past midnight before we started back to town, snuggled in the straw, holding hands beneath the buffalo robes, sleigh bells jingling, steel runners creaking against the hard-packed snow. When we left the girls at their homes we bade them adieu in song: "Good night ladies, good night ladies . . . we're going to leave you now." "And thank God you are!" would sometimes come from an upper window, in an irritated male voice. (Powell 1938: 246).

Such sleighing parties to a neighboring town, or perhaps as a surprise to a rural home, were common from the 1830s up until the dominance of the automobile in this century.

The colder months were, and are still are, the principal time for dancing: October through April. For agricultural communities this was a time of reduced field work and increased socializing. It was also a period rich in holidays, any of which might be a good excuse for a special party. Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Years, Washington's Birthday and St.

Lent put a damper on the old partying season . . . but the fact that St. Patrick's Day usually fell during Lent did not seem to bother Irish-American dance organizers.

Patrick's Day were all commonly celebrated with feasting and dancing in both city and small towns across New York State. It is true that Lent put a damper on the old partying season — many a dance series ended by Ash Wednesday — but the week before and the Monday following could be all the more festival because of it.[13] The fact that St. Patrick's Day usually fell within Lent did not seem to bother Irish-American dance organizers. Dancing was less frequent in the summer, but did occasionally take place at July 4th celebrations, pioneer association, GAR or family picnics, village old-timers' days, and at "Harvest Parties" put on at rural inns. Fashionable urban style dancing could also be found at summer resort areas (e.g. Saratoga Springs, Avon Springs, etc.) and, by the later 19th century, in numerous lake-side amusement centers.[14]

Country Dancing in the 20th Century

By the second decade of this century, squares, contras and circles had largely disappeared from city and college dance programs, and on small town programs which catered to the new and popular. They did survive, however, in innumerable dances put on by rural fire halls, Odd Fellows, granges, community centers and like organizations; in celebrations or fund raisers for new barns or shops; and in the once ubiquitous neighborhood house parties[15] (see Fig. 6). It was the house parties in particular, with all generations taking part, which hung on to the oldest ways of doing things. Contra dances and circles, for example, took too long for a typical 1930s crowd paying their way into a public fire hall dance or a round and square dance at one of the lake pavilions.[16] At a house party, however, with the floors firmly propped up from below, and small children sleeping on the side or upstairs, time was secondary and fashion unimportant.

Floyd Woodhull described his professional debute at a house party near Elmira:

> Dad was an old-time fiddler and my mother played the guitar and did the calling. There were no sound systems in those days and she had a sharp voice. They used to play mostly at dances in farmers' homes during the winter months.
>
> I played my first dance with my folks at Elmer Hann's farmhouse near Greatsingers Corners. I was 13 years old . . . let's see, that was back in 1916.
>
> I can remember the night like it was yesterday. I played chords on the piano. We started at 8 o'clock and they didn't stop

dancing until five in the morning. At 11 o'clock my little finger gave out and I finished up with my thumb.

We played at the foot of an open stairway, and they were dancin' three rooms down and three up. The furniture was all out in the snow. It got crowded and some huskies took the kitchen range, with the wood fire in it, out to the yard. Then they swept up the soot and started dancin' in the kitchen." [*EA*: 11/12/1949].

A 1926 house party in the town of Richmond (Ontario County) led to the following vivid account of mixed generations and musical styles:

> This little burg is agog and agape over two surprise parties held in the vicinity the past week. As was noted in last week's Gazette, Annebelle Reed was given a party on the evening of February 2d. Miss Dora Somerville was the victim the following Friday night, the occasion being her 21st birthday . . . As is usual with parties at the [Reed's] there were cards and tables for those who cared to play pedro. Riley Ward was present with his old violin and was the center of attraction. After all had arrived at the party the music began. Wayne Woodruff struck up with "Hail! Hail! the Gang's All Here." Both classical and old-time music were played until supper was served. Supper over, the young enjoyed dancing. Wayne played the music for the Charleston, bunny hug and fox trot types, and Clark Reed and Riley playing the old-fashioned pieces. Leon Barrett called off the old-time dances, and in the language of the streets, "he was a scream." It all reminded the writer of the old days when Clark Reed and Herb and Joe Bennett furnished the music for dances around the "Hollow." Herb usually played second fiddle and called off. He would sometimes do this in a sing-song way or, as I remember it, something like this: "Alamen left, balance to the corner; four hands round; down the center, met your sweet, swing that girl right off her feet." As Samantha has it, "although I do say it as hadn't ought to," I must admit that in this age of bobbed hair and fig-leaf mode of dressing, when the young men did swing their sweets at the Reed party, gay and gaudy garters were a bit more in evidence than in the old days when ladies wore long trails to their dresses (*LG* 2/5/1926)[17]

This description brings up two significant characteristics of contemporary rural country dancing throughout the area: the vigorous swing and the singing call. Right up to the early 20th century, the formal dancing

masters persisted in teaching a swing or "turn" which was nothing more than taking two hands with your partner and walking once around to place. Yet as far back as living memories go (and somewhat further in occasional press or literary descriptions), an energetic swing of several revolutions has been more the norm. Indeed some of the favorite figures of 20th century dancing seem to be little more than an excuse for lots of hard swinging. The exact origins of the swing may never be traceable in the maze of unrecorded influences on 19th century folkways, but in modern times it has clearly gone well beyond the dictates of the old dancing masters.[18]

". . . they took the kitchen range, with the wood fire in it, out to the yard, swept up the soot and started dancin' in the kitchen."

The origins of singing calls, as now dominate central and western New York rural dancing, are equally hard to pin down. Important dance instruction books from Saunders (1847) to Lovett (1925) all describe simple prompting, encouraging the caller to use a clear speaking voice to give only the basic calls. In practice, however, this often became a series of shouts or hollers as the caller tried to make him or herself heard over the music and the sound of the dancers.[19] As popular songs were sometimes used for dancing, even in the old cotillion days,[20] it seems but a small step, indeed nearly an automatic one, for some musician-callers to sing the calls out to the tune they are playing. "Happy Bill" Daniels of Dryden and Edward Peterson of Geneseo were two particularly influential fiddler-callers, both active before 1900, who were remembered as often singing their calls (*MMPLP* 1/24/1926 and *CD* 11/30/1923). The more common tradition, however, was still that of straight prompting — or shouting — until the advent of P.A. systems with professional square dance bands in the 1930s. With the sounds of big band crooners and cowboy singers everywhere, and with public square dancing experiencing a significant revival (under Henry Ford's encouragement[21]), leading young callers such as Floyd Woodhull and Monte Williams[22] started singing their dance calls to well-known song tunes (Fig. 7). Many of the dance figures were unchanged, but the style of presentation was new — and very popular. Woodhull's sung calls, some borrowed and some original, were especially successful and took on a kind of pop status in the area. "Have you danced the new 'Sour Apple Tree'?" asks a 1938 Woodhull poster.[23]

Later callers have continued in this tradition, still using many of the singing calls from Woodhull, Williams and their contemporaries, but also sometimes making up new ones in the same style. And as Woodhull himself did, rural New York callers have not been shy about using good

calls they hear at somebody else's dance.[24] Similarly, today's rural dancers have generally learned what they do by watching others dance. The most popular figures are not difficult and the total number of calls one needs to know is small — about a dozen will suffice. One does need to adjust a bit, however, to match the way people vary their response to the same calls from place to place or even from square to square at the same dance. Swinging, right and left through, grand right and left, do-si-do and others all have local versions which are distinctly different from what is taught in clubs or schools.

Figure 7.
Dance poster, 1938.

Today's dancers also apparently move faster than their forebears at the turn of the century. Not only have average tempos picked up (by 15% or more over the earlier formal dances), but the number of beats allotted for some calls have been reduced. Right and left through, for example, which used to occupy a leisurely 16 steps over and back, is now done in a very quick 8.[25] The briskness becomes all the more noticeable with a caller who delights in getting everyone going the wrong way with a surprise call.

Where they still occur regularly in central and western New York, the rural round and square dances are lively, often boisterous events (see Fig. 8). The core of the dance crowd is made up of those who grew up from the late 1930s into the 1950s — and they dance well. The number of younger folks dancing varies from place to place, depending on a number of factors: the age of the band members or the ability of the band to play newer repertoire, whether or not beer is served, the degree of youth participa-

tion in a grange, the proximity of an active clogging club, etc.[26] Where there is a wide range of ages, the dress varies correspondingly from coat and tie and dresses for the oldest to jeans and sneakers for the teenagers. Specific square dance costumes are rare, though one does see a few western style shirts, especially if the band is country western.

Each rural dance is its own activity, staged by local folks for their own and their neighbors' enjoyment, and sometimes for a small profit to the sponsoring organization or as a charity fund raiser. Advertising is generally through small notices in local Pennysavers, by signs in front of the hall, by fliers or cards, or by word of mouth. Everything about the event tends to be based on how it was done last time. A rural dance is a social time, where the visiting can be as important as the dancing. It can also be a nostalgic time, as participants hang on to a valued bit of local tradition.

Figure 8.
Dancing "Alabama Jubilee" to Accordion Zeke and Ramblin' Lou at the Oakfield Fire Hall, December 5, 1987. Photo: James Kimball.

Contemporary Club Dancing: Western Squares and Contras

Clubs or club-like assemblies have long been part of the social dance scene in central and western New York. From the earliest "select cotillion parties," through numerous fashionable dancing clubs in the 1880s and '90s, to ballroom and western square dance clubs of today, New York dancers have organized into groups of similarly sociable and technically proficient dancers. Unlike public dances, or even some of the old house parties, club dances could be made safe from rowdiness, from intrusion by unwanted

visitors and from inability to dance. With the right kind of music and a capable dance leader a good time was assured for all.

The modern or western square dance clubs still serve in this function throughout upstate New York, where one can find a dance somewhere within reach nearly every night of the week. Born out of a combination of folk dancing, recreation, and nationalism in the 1940s, and inspired by costumed demonstration dancers, such as those trained by Lloyd Shaw in Colorado, the idea of standardized square dancing began to catch on. The immediate legacy was an out-pouring of square dance books, magazines and records, the establishment of national affiliations and the rise of widely-known square dance personalities and experts.

American country dancing is flourishing today in central and western New York.

Contemporary western club dancers, and there are more than a thousand in the Rochester area alone (Galik 1987: 5), dance in a very different environment and style from their cousins at the granges and fire halls. First of all, there is a large number of calls, about 68 for average club dancing and many more for advanced levels. Where repetition and simplicity (with occasional suprises) is the rule for rural dances, the clubs thrive on variation and complexity. Swinging is deemphasized as are the familiar visiting couple figures.[27] Instead we find a maze of carefully choreographed walking patterns with most of the dancers moving at the same time. We also find a colorful collage of special square dance costumes.[28] New dances are being created all the time, to be done to a wide variety of recorded tunes — many of a decidedly modern character, more disco than country or folk. As in the grange dances, most know what they are doing, though here it is because everyone must complete several months of basic lessons before they can join in the regular dances. Unlike the grange, once a western club dancer knows the standard moves and etiquette, he or she will have no trouble dancing with clubs anywhere in the country. Local idiosyncracies are rare.

One other tradition of American country dancing, and a relatively new one in central and western New York, is the urban contra dance club. This was primarily a phenomenon of the 1970s and grew out of a mixture of influences: changing folk dance trends, the revival of old-time string band playing, the bicentennial hoopla and some very capable dance leaders with experience in the thriving New England contra dance revival.[29] The initial stylistic influences were clearly from New England, as were the first dances to be taught. From their early popularity in the area, the revived contra dances have found their principal adherents in, or on the edge of, university communities in Ithaca, Rochester and Syracuse: young professionals,

graduate students, graying and not-so-graying folkies, mathematicians and doctors — there is relatively little overlap with either the more blue-collar western square dance clubs or the rural dances. The contras themselves are often complex and, as in western club dancing, the favored figures are those in which everybody is kept active.[30] Also in common with the western club dancing is an active appreciation for new dances and new tunes. The use of live music, on the other hand, informal dress and a generally boisterous spirit (including very vigorous swings) have more in common with rural dances.[31] Like the western club movement, contra dancing has its newsletters, a national affiliation and celebrated teachers. Dances are actively taught and beginners are encouraged to join in.[32]

All three versions of American country dancing, the rural round and square dance, the modern western square dance club, and the urban contra dance, seem to be flourishing at the moment.[33] Each style appeals to a significant segment of the dancing public, and although the details vary greatly from one to the other, those active in each see themselves as participating in something special which is not only healthy and sociable, but which has roots deep in American tradition.

NOTES

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1. Some churches were (and a few still are) strongly opposed to dancing, deeming it either immoral or frivolous. Among the few which generally did allow dancing in the last century were the Episcopalians, Universalists and Roman Catholics. Irish Catholic churches, in particular, used dances as primary fund raisers — often to help in building the church itself or adjoining social halls.
2. The pumps mentioned here are probably light weight dress shoes, suitable for dancing. Such shoes would fit the fancy steps which were still part of much social dancing at that time.
3. The Playford collection went through many revised editions from 1651 to 1728. The longways format, already the most common in the first edition, totally dominated the work in the 18th century. "Country dancing," as used in this article, and as described by Playford, includes all those dances which are done by one or more couples in set formations: squares, lines, or circles. The term "country dance" has also been used more specifically for the longways or "contra" dance, especially in the 19th century when this form was seen as older fashioned and more rural than the latest cotillions or quadrilles being taught in urban society.
4. The contra dance format remained generally the more popular into the early 19th century. *A Select Collection* (1808), for example, gives the dance figures for 308 contra dances, but only 7 cotillions.
5. See Morrison (1976) for a good description of the way cotillions were put together in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Also included is a good discussion of early contra dancing and the types of fancy steps which were fashionable in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.
6. The Boston Cotillion Band advertised in 1823 "a person who is well acquainted with playing and calling a great variety of new and fashionable French Cotillions . . ." (CC 1/4/1823) The leader, M. Mann, is later mentioned as having been engaged "to assist in calling the cotillions." (CC 10/7/1826).
7. Several copies of the Saunders violin method have survived from western New York sources; it may also be found advertised for sale by local dealers in the mid-19th century.
8. e.g. *The Ball-Room Companion* (1848: 24) and Hilgrove (1964: 82-4) both refer to ending a set with a jig. Western New York callers still commonly use the term to refer to the lively last figure of a set of squares.
9. Printed dance cards, especially common from the 1860s through the 1910s, were used to keep

track of what dance was coming next and with whom one had agreed to dance it.

10. Howe (1858) uses "cotillion" with both the old and new meanings, as synonymous with quadrille and as "French Fancy Cotillion," meaning the new party games — also termed "The German" in America. Some rural musicians continued to use the square dance meaning until at least the end of the century.

11. Clarence Maher (born 1899) of Stone Church, N.Y. describes the demise of the Lancers in his area:

> Well, theu used to have a Lancers Quadrille, regular Lancers music for it; but I never liked it, but I used to play it. But I didn't like it . . . Walt [Dilcher] didn't used to like to call it, 'cause nobody used to half know how to do a Lancers.

Floyd Woodhull recorded the "Last of the Lancers" for Folkraft Records in 1950 (*Square Dance Party*).

12. The two band round and square dances were common in the 1920s and '30s in central and western New York. In some cases the bands alternated while in others, as in the Attica grange hall in the 1920s, a square dance band (Sam Bey) played upstairs while a jazz band (Tiny Glor) played downstairs. As recently as 1964, the Hornell Policemen's Ball featured a square dance band as one of three bands playing in three different halls at the same time.

13. Masquerade balls became popular in the Pre-Lenten season in the last half of the 19th century, especially where there were large concentrations of Germans. This would appear to be, at least in part, a legacy of European Carnival tradition. Also carried over from Europe was the common custom of Easter Monday dances held by many Catholic parishes.

14. Such centers seem to have sprung up on nearly every lake in the area, many evolving into the fully developed amusement parks of the 20th century. The open sided dance pavilions, which often doubled as roller skating rinks, supplied summer employment to many popular musicians and dance managers. Where permanent pavilions did not exist, as for a village July 4th dance, a special open air platform was frequently built for the occasion. Paved streets and parking lots and air conditioned halls did away with this need.

15. Occasional barn and shop square dances still exist, as do regular dances put on by a handful of granges, fire halls, American Legions, etc.; but house dances seem to have vanished altogether by the mid-20th century, as other forms of amusement and new life styles took over.

16. Lyle Miles of the Hornellsville Hillbillies emphasized the importance to the summer dance hall managers of keeping the program moving right along. Dancers were often charged by the dance, especially in the 1920s and 30s, and shorter dances meant greater profits (Miles 1987). Erie County caller Ken Roloff remembers the Virginia Reel, but said he would not normally do it for a paying crowd; it took too long (Roloff 1987).

17. Memories of similar house dances abound among folks who grew up in rural central and western New York before World War II; and these memories also attest to the continued use at such parties of not only square dances, but frequently contras as well. Favorites among the latter, down to the 1950s in some areas, included the Virginia Reel, Opera Reel and the Crooked S. Other longways or circular country dances which are remembered in the area, but were clearly less wide-spread by the 20th century, were Lady Washington, Money Musk, The Irish Trot, Flowers of Edinboro, Portland Fancy, the Circassian and Sicilian Circles, the Scotch Reel and the Fireman's Dance. Two related and well known mixers which were sometimes done in a circle were Old Dan Tucker and the Paul Jones.

18. Earlier descriptions of vigorous swinging include the following, from a Jamestown "Old Folk's Dance" in 1874:

> When Pat [Falconer] and partner (Mrs. Alvord) arrived at that particular phase of the mazy dance, known as "Ladies to the Right!" both went in for all there was in the figure. Neither of them we are certain missed a single demi-semi-quaver, and the final "balance and swing pardners" was illustrated with marvelous pigeon wings and wound up with a velocity perfectly bewildering and yet in a blaze of glory . . . (*JDJ*: 2/12/1874)

The fancy footwork of the balance and pigeon wings is gone from rural New York dances — though it survives to some degree in New England contra dancing — but the "bewildering velocity" would fit some grange dance swings today. "The Spanish Cavallero" is a good and very popular example of a dance built almost entirely on swings. Swinging in contemporary rural dances generally uses either standard ballroom position or the "safety" position with left hands joined between the couple and right hands around your partners waist; the step may be either a brisk walk around or "buzz" step (these variations are among those discussed in Gowing 1957: 20, 30-31).

19. Elizabeth Woodhull (Floyd's Mother) was typical of a great many rural callers in the pre-microphone age who could shout calls all night to a full house. Some callers took to using megaphones to help out.

20. From the 1830s through the early 20th century, publishers put out a run of operatic and popular songs arranged for dance sets. Welch (1891: 377) remembered early popular Buffalo orchestras playing quadrilles of the latest minstrel tunes such as "Old Uncle Ned" and "Old Dan Tucker."

21. Henry Ford's active interest in reviving old time music and dancing was frequently noted in area newspapers in the late 1920s, and after his example we see numerous "old fiddler" con-

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tests and a gradual rise in the number of advertised public square dances. The 1926 edition of Ford's dance book (Lovett) sold well in central and western New York, as did also the 1943 edition, which includes a section of singing calls.

22. Of the Hornellsville Hillbillies.
23. Woodhull used such diverse tunes as "Take Me Out to the Ball Game," "When The Bloom Is On The Sage," and "The Girl I Left Behind Me," the last being one of the few singing calls widely known to the pre-microphone generation of callers in the area (it also appears in all editions of Lovett). The Woodhulls advertised their new sound equipment in July 1935 (*ESG* 6/7/1935).
24. Every rural caller the author has interviewed has talked about learning calls from and sharing calls with other callers. Few mention books as sources, though some have mentioned records — especially those of the Woodhulls from the late 1940s. Floyd Woodhull mentioned frequent guest callers at his dances, from whom he would learn calls and vice versa (Woodhull 1986).
25. Recommended tempos for early 20th century quadrilles and lancers averaged about 112 steps per minute as opposed to about 125 to 130 for many contemporary rural callers. Nita Hall Marion who danced to both "Happy Bill" Daniels (in the 1910s) and the Woodhulls (in the 1930s and '40s) remembered that the calls were very similar, but that the Woodhulls were noticeably faster (Marion 1987).
26. Of the many dances the author has visited in western New York, the most conservative was the 1987-88 season with Ken's Western Ramblers at the East Pembroke Grange. The squares were very much in the 1940s Woodhull style and the rounds, played with accordion and swing guitar lead, were mostly foxtrots from the 1920s to the '50s. Other rounds include polkas, waltzes, schottisches, jitterbugs, a rhinelander, a rye waltz and a tango. Whereas all age groups were represented, the average was clearly older than at Ramblin' Lou's dances at the Oakfield Fire Hall. Here there was a good mix of rounds and squares, with the squares still of the Woodhull variety, but the music for the rounds was mostly contemporary country, sometimes country-rock (including a well played version of "Wipe Out"). Again all age groups were represented, but in this case there were significantly more in the 20s and 30s range than at East Pembroke. (There was also beer.)
27. Figures where one couple at a time visits each other couple in the set, performing the same patterns (e.g. circle four hands around, swing the opposite lady, etc.) with each. Such calls are central to rural dancing.
28. The costumes are one of the most distinctive features of modern western dancing. The women's dresses in particular, with their curious blend of country design and 1950s party crinolines, are immediately recognizable as belonging to club dancers. It is interesting to note that the clubs, which feature the most modern varieties of square dances, tend to use a stylized old-fashioned costume, while the granges and fire halls, which feature older dances, stick with ordinary contemporary dress.
29. In some parts of rural New England, contra dances had actually survived as part of ordinary small town dancing; in more urban surroundings, however, and in southern New England, the tradition was clearly being brought back as a revival. Among the most important dance teachers to actively initiate modern contra dancing in central and western New York were Richard Castner, a native of Maine, and Roger Knox, who started dancing in California, but who worked closely (as did Castner) with New England dance leader, Ralph Page. The folk dance roots are clearly seen in a continued popularity among contra dancers of doing European round dances (e.g. the hombo and the Norwegian polka).
30. The contra dances once common in rural New York are either unknown to the contemporary clubs, are simply too old fashioned (i.e. not complex enough) or are seen as too hackneyed (e.g. the Virginia reel) for regular modern use.
31. This boisterous spirit, together with recent roots in an eclectic environment, has led to interesting mixes of traditions. It is not unusual, for example, to find Ithaca contra dancers applying Appalachian clogging moves to New England figures, accompanied by original Jewish-style tunes.
32. Most teaching is done as part of the ordinary dance evening, rather than requiring lengthy class involvement.
33. There are potential problems, however, in all three traditions. The rural dances are most threatened by a shortage of up-and-coming young callers; the western clubs by general over-complexity and varying levels of expertise; and the contra dances by the ever present threat of changing urban fads.

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NYM New York Mirror (New York City)
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Music in New York City's Chinese Community

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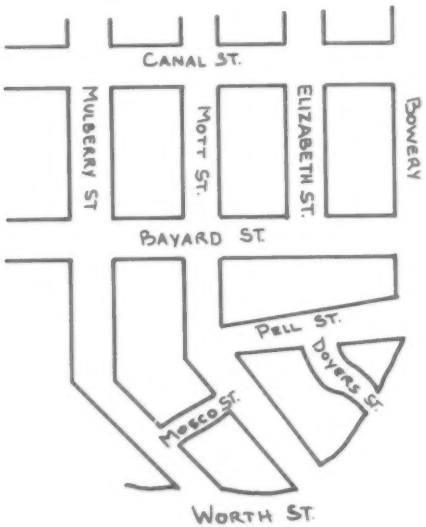
During the 1860s, the area of Manhattan known as "Plow and Harrow" was home to only a handful of Chinese. This neighborhood included the land west of the Bowery and extended to Mott and Bayard Streets. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1873, and an escalating anti-Chinese movement in the western United States, large numbers of Chinese moved east. By 1880, it was reported that New York City had a Chinatown with a population of 800 living in an area that stretched to Pell and Doyers Streets. As the population grew the area expanded to include the eight irregularly shaped blocks bordered by Canal Street on the north, Mulberry Street on the west, the Bowery on the east, and Worth Street on the south. In an unofficial count in 1940, these eight blocks housed 40,000 Chinese.



The eight blocks of early Chinatown.

According to a 1988 population estimate by the Asian/American Center, there are now approximately 310,000 Chinese living in the City. In Manhattan alone there are about 150,000, the overwhelming majority of whom live in Chinatown, which is expanding daily. Though other Chinatowns have sprung up in Queens and Brooklyn, downtown Manhattan still functions as the focal point for nearly every Chinese commercial, social, political and cultural association.

Since virtually all the early Chinese immigrants were Cantonese speakers from the south China province of Guangdong (Kwangtung), the first style of Chinese music performed in the United States was Cantonese opera. Professional Cantonese opera troupes from China were first heard in San Francisco in 1852, and visited New York during the 1860s. When the Chinatown Music Hall was opened in 1890 for touring performers, it was hailed as the first Chinese theater "east of California." A second New York theater opened in 1895.

Prior to World War II, Cantonese opera was the primary Chinese musical activity in the United States. However, with the advent of movies, and the increasing difficulties of importing professional opera troupes from China, its popularity gradually diminished. Today in New York City, amateur Chinese music groups perform music that can be classified as one of four types: instrumental, Cantonese opera, Peking opera, and choral.

Instrumental Music

The folk music of China has always reflected the enormously rich diversity of its huge population and vast geography. In the 1930s, there was an attempt, promoted by politicians and Western-influenced composers, to create a pan-Chinese music. Different traditional regional folk ensembles were blended to create the modern "folk orchestra." Originally, this pan-Chinese music consisted of arrangements of both regional folk tunes and classical pieces for solo instruments. Eventually, composers began to write pieces specifically for the modern ensemble. These early arrangements and original pieces employed many compositional techniques used in Western art music. They standardized instrumentation; stressed uniform intonation and execution; and encouraged the development of new hybrid instruments to widen the tonal color of the ensemble. Conferences were held, experiments performed, and new professional and amateur groups established. The new Chinese folk orchestra also fulfilled two social functions: first, it developed China's musical heritage in accordance with the government's ideal of creating a national music; second, it preserved traditional and distinctly Chinese musical elements. Not surprisingly, such orchestras eventally appeared in New York City and in other Chinese-American communities.

The modern orchestral ensemble is divided into four sections: bowed strings, plucked strings, wind and percussion. The bowed section is the

largest division within the orchestra and consists of the *huqin* family of instruments — two-stringed fiddles which are held vertically, with the bow threaded between the two strings. The names of these instruments change in accordance with their size from the highest pitched *jinghu*, customarily seen in the Peking opera, to the *dahu*, the largest of the *huqin*. The *erhu*, the mid-range *huqin*, is the most numerous instrument in the orchestra. The four-stringed *gehu*, a modern invention based on the Western cello, also belongs to this category.

"Music from China" performing at the Schimmel Center for the Performing Arts, Pace University. Photo: Paul Liu, 1988.

The next largest section consists of plucked instruments. This group includes various lutes such as the *pipa* (a pear-shaped four-stringed lute), *zhongruan* (a round four-stringed lute), and *guzheng* (a long zither with sixteen or more strings and moveable bridges). The *yangqin* (a hammered dulcimer), though not technically plucked, is also grouped with the plucked strings.

The ensemble's smaller wind section includes the *dizi* (a horizontal bamboo flute with one hole covered by a thin membrane which produces a reedy timbre), *xiao* (a notched, end-blown bamboo flute), *sheng* (a mouth organ), and the *sona* and *guan* (two different types of double-reed instruments). The percussion section consists of many different sized drums, gongs, cymbals, and clappers.

There are three main styles of composition for the modern folk orchestra: *qizou* (unison), *hezou* (ensemble), and *duzou* (solo-ensemble). *Qizou* style is reminiscent of traditional unison playing. The *hezou* style consists of traditional melodies, new compositions, and *qizou* pieces that have been harmonized. The *duzou* pieces are like "mini-concertos," in which solo and ensemble sections alternate. Also included in this repertory are solo performances, duets, small ensembles, and vocal accompaniments.

Modern orchestral music is almost entirely "programmatic;" it tells a story or describes an idyllic scene, as for example, in the pipa solo "Bright Snow in Early Spring." For the most part, the music is written in a cipher notation called *jianpu* (simple notation). Based on the moveable "do," *jianpu* employs numbers to designate pitches.

The oldest and largest Chinese folk orchestra in the United States is the "Chinese Music Ensemble of New York." Founded in 1961 by its present director Chang Tsuan-nien, his daughter Josephine Chang, and Professor Kao Yi-han, it consists today of 25 active members. The majority of the group are immigrants from China, Taiwan or Hong Kong. Its members attend weekly rehearsals, and a small group also meets for additional practice weekly.

The "Chinese Music Ensemble" presents two large concerts annually, one in the Chinatown community, and another for the general public. Throughout the year, the ensemble gives smaller concerts and lecture/demonstrations at libraries, colleges, neighborhood schools, and museums. Free music classes are offered to children during the summer months, and music instruction is available year round. In recent years, the Ensemble has invited several prominent professional musicians to perform as guest soloists.

"Music from China," another prominent ensemble, was founded in 1984 by Susan Cheng and Tien-juo Wang. It holds an annual concert each fall, and since 1985, it has worked in conjunction with the Young People's Chinese Cultural Center on a Chinese New Years' performance. The group also gives lecture/demonstrations at colleges and libraries, and offers a series of presentations featuring different solo instruments. Professional Chinese musicians currently residing in New York are frequently featured, and the group has commissioned works from New York-based composers such as Zhou Long and Chen Yi.

Chinese Opera

Until the twentieth century, the term "Chinese theater" or "drama" referred to Chinese opera. Before the introduction of the "spoken play" from the West, all Chinese theater was a synthesis of song, speech, instrumental music, stylized movements, mime, and acrobatics. Due to regional variations in music and dialect, there are approximately 300 different types of *difang xi* (regional theater). The Chinese opera is an abstract

and highly symbolic art form. From the setting of the stage to the orchestra leader's drumming patterns, all facets of the opera have specific meanings. And regardless of region, all Chinese opera adheres to the same conventions. For example, there are four stock character types: *sheng*, which includes the male roles of scholars, gentlemen and statesmen; *dan*, all female roles (in the past these parts were always performed by men); *jing*, the "painted-face" male roles of warriors, bandits, and supernatural figures; and *chou*, the male clowns (and the only characters allowed to make spontaneous jokes and use colloquial speech on stage).

"Music from China." Wing Quan plays the dizi. *Photo: Paul Liu.*

The opera orchestra is seated on the stage to the right of the audience. All Chinese opera features a combination of percussion instruments:

drums, clappers, gongs, and cymbals. The orchestra leader plays both the *ban* (clapper) and the *danpi gu* (a small drum). Besides the percussion, each region has its own combination of string and wind instruments.

The stage setting for Chinese opera is very simple, utilizing two chairs, a table and a carpet. These represent a variety of objects and places; and the actors further the symbolism by using mime and an assortment of portable props. For example, a rod with four equally spaced tassels always symbolizes a horse, and the audience knows that an actor holding it is either leading or riding the animal. Or, if an actor holds an oar while jumping once and then bending at the knees, the audience known that he is boarding a boat and crossing a river.

Make-up and costumes are generally very striking, but are especially elaborate for the actors of the *jing* roles. Jing characters are required to paint their faces in codified patterns, thus eliciting the name *hualian* ("flower face," or more commonly, "painted face"). The costumes are decorated with dazzling, intricately embroidered designs. The colors and motifs used in the make-up and costume symbolize the character's personality and status.

New York City is home to two different types of Chinese regional operas, Peking opera and Cantonese opera. Clubs promoting both types of opera are active, but in different ways: Peking opera clubs are inclined towards public performances that attract an audience of both Chinese and non-Chinese, however Cantonese opera clubs tend to be more private and member-oriented organizations.

Cantonese Opera. In New York City there are four active Cantonese opera clubs, each with its own membership and its own headquarters. Although each group is dedicated to the promotion of Cantonese opera, they do not give performances for the general public. In the past, it was sometimes possible to see a fully-costumed Cantonese opera performed by a Chinatown-based group, however today, the music is rarely performed outside the club.

The major function of these clubs is social; they serve as a place for their members and their families to congregate. On weekends, the clubs' headquarters are always filled with the lively sounds of people making music, eating, conversing and playing mahjong. Musical ability is not a requirement for membership, however, it is necessary for applicants to have a "good character" as well as two recommendations from existing members. Prospective members are invited to attend and are observed within the community before membership is offered. The group expects the members to pay yearly dues and to periodically give donations.

Each club has a small stage for the musicians to use. The stages are usually crowded with microphones, amplifiers and instruments — both Chinese and Western. Western instruments, such as saxophones, violins, electric bass guitars, and trap sets, have been incorporated into the tradi-

tional opera orchestra.

The oldest Cantonese opera club in New York is the "Chinese Musical and Theatrical Association," incorporated in 1931. (The group had existed informally for several years before this date.) Its current director, Stanley Chiu, has been playing and teaching Cantonese music for over 50 years. The group has approximately 100 members, not all of whom presently reside in New York. The walls of the club are decorated with photographs of past performances, some in full costume. In a corner of the room is a large altar dedicated to the god of music, Hua Guang. The statue of Hua Guang is flanked by the legendary masters of opera, Tin and Dao, and daily offerings are presented to these deities.

Musical ability is not a requirement for membership in an opera club; an applicant must have "good character."

The second oldest Cantonese opera club in Chinatown is the "Chinese Dramatic and Benevolent Association" founded in 1926. That year there was considerable political turmoil in China, and several Chinese students who supported General Chiang Kai-shek decided to raise money by organizing a dramatic club based on the new, Western-influenced spoken theater. In 1936, many of the original members returned to China. This sudden exodus of actors gave director G.G. Wong the impetus to start a new music group under the old name. At first, the group played Cantonese folk songs "with a beat," and the popularity of this small group was so widespread that they were invited by President Roosevelt to perform at the White House. The group also performed full-scale Chinese operas in the community, and throughout the Northeast. These grand-scale performances ceased in 1968, and since then, the group has limited its performances to Chinatown association functions. As at other clubs, the Association maintains an altar for Hua Guang, the music god, and Tin and Dao, the two opera masters. The walls of this club are decorated with photographs of their performances, some dating back to the 1930s.

W.T. Chan organized the "Kyew Ching Musical Association" in 1956 with nine other men from the same town in Guangdong, who had played Cantonese music together in China. Kyew Ching performs only for the different business associations in Chinatown. It does not give public performances and has never presented a fully costumed opera.

Finally, there is the "New York Institute of Cantonese Music," distinct from the previous groups because all its musicians were professionally trained in Guangdong. Director Chen Ho-kui formed the group in 1986 with six other young musicians. Although they do not have an official membership, their rehearsal space offers friends and family a place to congregate and socialize.

In the future, these Cantonese opera groups must rely on friends and new immigrants to maintain their membership. Without them, they will not have the financial resources from dues and donations needed to rent space in New York.

Chinese opera in New York depends on trained immigrants, as young Chinese-Americans are more interested in American popular music.

Peking Opera. In the past, speakers of Mandarin Chinese (Chinese from the northern provinces of China and Taiwan) formed a small minority of the Chinese population in New York. These people came later than their southern countrymen, and they were not laborers; most Mandarin speakers who came to the United States were students from middle-class backgrounds.

Over 30 years ago, a group of these Mandarin-speaking students decided to form a club through which they could socialize and play music from their home region. They had a great interest in Peking opera and felt that its performance was an important way for them to maintain their cultural ties. Since then, several other Peking opera troupes have been established in New York City. However, since most of the members of these groups no longer live in Chinatown, or even in New York City, some of the clubs have failed. Today, the most prominent Peking opera groups are the "Yeh Yu Chinese Opera Association," and the "Renaissance Chinese Opera Society."

The operas performed by both groups are identical to those given in China, however, they are sometimes abbreviated or edited due to a lack of performers (some operas require a cast of more than 30) and ability (most members of these groups are not professionally trained). The recent arrival of several professional Peking opera performers from China and Taiwan has allowed these groups to stage more complete versions of some of the previously edited works.

Peking opera, like all regional Chinese opera, is an oral tradition but because of its popularity in China and Taiwan, scores and librettos are now published. These serve primarily as aids, and are not substitutes for the many years of training required. Today, people also learn opera roles by studying recordings and video cassettes of professional actors.

The "Yeh Yu Chinese Opera Association" was founded in 1958. It has a membership of approximately 100, but not all its members are active. The Association is directed by Charlene Teng and Kao Shang, who believe that the purpose of the Yeh Yu is "to preserve and promote this unique theater art and to introduce it to the people of America." To meet this goal, Yeh

Yu presents 6 to 8 fully-costumed performances each year both in and outside the City.

Jea Feng-shi is the founder and director of the "Renaissance Opera Society." He formed the group in 1984 as a social club to attract people interested in Peking opera. At first, they did not plan to present public performances, but they now give six concerts and lecture-demonstrations annually. Jea believes that one of the purposes of his group is to introduce Peking opera to the people outside the community.

Both groups lament the fact that many young Chinese-Americans are more interested in American popular music than in Peking opera, which they feel is old-fashioned and irrelevant to their lives. Thus the troupes often rely on new immigrants who have studied Peking opera overseas (for example, many schools and institutions in Taiwan have Peking opera groups), as well as on newly arrived professional musicians from China and Taiwan.

Choral Music

Chinese choral music is based on Western models. Choral groups, like other musical groups in Chinatown, function as social outlets. Parties, trips, and informal get-togethers are held throughout the year. There are two Chinese choral groups in Chinatown, "Univoice" and the "Hai Yuen Chorus." A majority of choral group members are from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, but others are overseas Chinese from Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. Quite a few members are either born in New York, or have grown up in the city.

"Music from China." Yai An plays the guzheng. *Photo: Paul Liu.*

The "Hai Yuen Chorus" was organized in 1984, and shortly thereafter, Chu Chung-mou, a renowned tenor and conductor from China's Central Broadcasting Chorus in Peking, then living in California, was invited to become the group's director and principal conductor. Approximately 40 members, ages 16-60, attend its weekly rehearsals. Its repertory includes traditional arrangements of Chinese folksongs, modern Chinese music for chorus and small vocal ensemble, solo Chinese art songs composed since the 1920s, and some Western art music translated into Mandarin. Cantonese songs are performed only at small community concerts. Each year the group gives at least four community concerts, and an annual performance outside Chinatown is scheduled each spring.

"Univoice" began in 1980 when several Chinese students met to sing Chinese folk songs at Columbia University. The group has since grown to include 40 active members, ages 22-50. Since 1983, their conductor has been Ms. Yuan Hsiao-yin, a graduate of the Manhattan School of Music. Rehearsals are held weekly, and a hired voice teacher instructs the group in music theory and vocal training before each one. The group still sings Chinese folk songs, but their repertory now includes formal choral pieces from both Chinese and Western art traditions. Small concerts are scheduled in Chinatown, and an annual concert has now been held outside the community since 1981. Voice students from New York's conservatories are invited to perform as guest artists.

The Future

The different genres of Chinese music found in New York City all function to sustain traditional Chinese culture. Alongside language, cuisine, and holiday festivities, music is an important marker of ethnic identity to club members. The common goal of each group is to be not only entertaining and educational, but also a means of renewing social and cultural ties. In some cases, the music may even be secondary to the social aspect; and, as we have seen, it is both a love of music and the possession of a good character that are the entrants to several clubs.

Although a variety of music clubs are in operation today, a very small percentage of New York City's Chinese community actually participates. Today's Chinese population is faced with a multitude of new cultural and social choices. As with any population, some people are not interested in music. Those that are may not wish to actively engage in musical activities. Others may spend long hours earning a living which severely limits their leisure time. In addition, some members of the Chinese community have chosen to pursue mainstream American recreational activities. Yet, there has been a constant demand for traditional music in Chinatown since the neighborhood's formation.

As the Chinese population expands, new immigrants will undoubtably bring new and different regional styles and talent to the New York Chinese musical community. This should insure that there will always be a group

of people that will have the love of music, and the devotion and ambition necessary for these clubs to prosper and flourish.

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"Our Own Little Isle": Irish Traditional Music in New York

REBECCA S. MILLER

The role of Irish traditional music, song, and dance among Irish immigrants in America and particularly in New York can be viewed as an ever-changing indicator of community identity and ethnic pride. These folk art forms survived years of cultural and social turmoil, from famine and religious persecution in Ireland to mass immigration to America. Once here, assimilative attitudes on the part of the new arrivals threatened to destroy these traditions as they were considered by many to be embarrassing relics of an antiquated lifestyle. Fortunately, interest in these ancient forms has done a full turn-around over the last fifteen years and today, Irish *seisúns* (informal music sessions), *ceilis* (dance parties), concerts, competitions, and festivals abound, revitalizing these expressions of heritage by the Irish and Irish-American communities in the U.S. Today the Irish music community in America is extremely active, presided over by great senior masters and reinvigorated by the energies of the newest wave of young Irish as well as their American-born cousins.

New York has become home to a majority of Irish immigrants over the past century. Although the Irish settled throughout New York State, the largest concentration of these immigrants and their descendants have clustered downstate, primarily in the five boroughs of New York City, Long Island, and parts of Westchester. Not surprisingly, New York City has also been a major center for Irish traditional music in America, and for this reason, this paper focuses exclusively on the Irish music community in downstate New York. Like the name of the jig — "Our Own Little Isle" — each successive generation of Irish immigrants has helped create and further augment their cultural niche in New York City by establishing an enormously vital community, one where their native traditions of instrumental music and dance remain the strongest and most active in America.

Three Centuries of Irish Music in America

A variant form of Irish traditional instrumental music first came to

America as early as the 17th century with the original Irish immigrants who settled in rural areas up and down the East Coast — from New England to the southern portions of the Appalachians. These early Irish immigrants were mainly descendants of Presbyterian Scots who, in the 17th century, had been relocated from Scotland to assist the English in the colonization of the northeast section of Ireland. Their musical tradition was non-Gaelic and much closer to a Lowland Scottish style. Furthermore, once in the United States, these Ulster Scots exhibited closer ties with Scotland than with Ireland (McCullough 1974:178).

Within these isolated areas, the music of the settlers mixed with that of their English and later, their French-Canadian neighbors, as well as with other ethnic-American styles. Over time, the combination of musics developed into what is now old-time Southern fiddle music and its Northern cousin — contradance music.

Two centuries later, massive numbers of native Irish immigrated to America to escape the devastating effects of the Irish potato blight of the 1840s and in search of greater economic opportunity. Unlike the earlier settlers, these newly-arrived Irish moved to large urban centers throughout America, notably New York, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia.

Much of Irish language and culture did not survive the transition to urban America, but music proved surprisingly resilient.

The Irish language and other aspects of traditional Irish culture did not survive this transition from a rural, agrarian-based life to urban American lifestyle. Interestingly, however, traditional Irish music proved surprisingly resilient in the face of this major social upheaval. Master players of traditional Irish music — fiddlers, uilleann pipers, button accordionists, and flutists, among others — found regular work in the vaudeville circuits, dance halls, pubs, and other venues. Moreover, unlike those that remained behind in Ireland, these Irish musicians in America during the late 19th and early 20th centuries were greeted with great respect throughout the immigrant community (McCullough 1974:180-181). Support for Irish music and dance was so strong that, in 1892, the "Golden Age of Irish Music" was formally ushered in upon completion of New York City's Celtic Hall, a major venue for Irish music and dance located at 446 West 54th Street in Manhattan.[1] Built with funds raised from the immigrant Irish and Irish-American community, Celtic Hall served as "the Mecca for the best class of Irish sociables and gatherings for many years."[2]

By the turn of the century, New York had become a focal point for Irish music when record companies reacted to the market potential of the "Golden Age" and began producing hundreds of 78 r.p.m. recordings. Bet-

ween 1900 and 1940, many outstanding Irish traditional musicians — most of whom lived or had lived at some point in New York City — were recorded by such major companies as Columbia and Victor, as well as by smaller, ethnic music labels. Widely listened to by the Irish in both America and Ireland, these recordings today are invaluable documentations of the playing of such outstanding musicians as fiddlers Michael Coleman, Paddy Killoran, and James Morrison, button accordionist John Kimmel, and uilleann piper Patsy Tuohy, among many others.[3]

The 78 recordings had an immeasurable effect on the course of Irish traditional music as they inadvertently established "correct" and "official" styles of playing the music through the selective recording of some musicians and the neglect of others. Also, the traditional transmission process, which had already been affected by immigration and increased mobility in general, was further altered. It had been essentially an oral tradition, passed down aurally from the elder to younger generation through imitation and repetition. Now younger students of the music did not necessarily need to interact with a senior practitioner, and instead could learn an entire repertoire and playing style from the recordings. The impact is still heard in the maintenance of repertoire and it is not unusual to hear specific groupings of reels or hornpipes played in a modern Irish music session exactly as they were recorded fifty years ago.

While these recordings facilitated wider dissemination of musical styles, over the years most Irish musicians in America nevertheless maintained their particular regional playing styles. If anything, the recordings of fiddlers Coleman, Morrison, and Killoran inspired younger players to learn the distinctive Sligo style as preserved by these masters.[4] It has only been in the past 15 years or so, that a less regionally-based, pan-American style has emerged to a limited extent among some of the younger players. And most of these players still master a specific regional sound and repertoire first as opposed to a more generic Irish playing style.

With the advent of the shellac ban and the Depression, the production of Irish records declined rapidly in the latter half of the 1930s until 1945, when the "Irish" series disappeared altogether from active catalogue lists (McCullough 1974:185). These factors, plus a substantial decrease in emigration from Ireland throughout the 1930s, led to the end of the "Golden Age of Irish Music." Without a fresh infusion of immigrants to maintain the interest, the popularity of traditional music started its inexorable decline.[5]

The early 1950s showed a slight increase in immigration of the Irish over the previous decade as Irish immigrants sought increased economic opportunity and jobs in the post-war employment boom in the United States.[6] This wave of immigrants included some of the finest Irish traditional musicians currently in New York today. Nevertheless, Irish music had so greatly declined in popularity among the Irish communities in New York that these newly-arrived musicians had difficulty finding opportunities

to play. Their potential audience seemed more intent on assimilating into American culture and the majority of newly-arrived Irish showed little appreciation for traditional music; in fact, they often were embarrassed on hearing this kind of music in public and being reminded of their folk culture.

Jack Coen, an outstanding traditional Irish wooden flutist, emigrated from Galway to the Bronx in 1949. He remembers having a hard time finding other musicians to play traditional music with upon arrival:

> The only time we'd play would be when there'd be a house party out in [New] Jersey. I think we played one wedding. More or less for our own amusement we would play, not for anybody else, for not too many at that time cared to listen to us, actually. A lot of people didn't even want to be associated with us . . . Irish people! They thought it was degrading, or I don't know what you'd call it. They thought it was Rocky Mountain music that should be left where we got it and not be brought from there at all. That's strange, isn't it? But that was the way it was in those days. (Kaplan, 1979)

Similarly, Martin Mulhaire, a fourth generation traditional musician also from Galway and an excellent exponent of the button accordion, immigrated to New York in the late 1950s. He attributes this attitude towards Irish traditional music on the part of the newly-arrived Irish and Irish-Americans to ingrained sentiments acquired prior to immigration:

> That goes back deep into our heritage of British occupation. When the British came to Ireland, they tried to destroy everything that was Irish and what they couldn't destroy, they tried to make you feel ashamed of. They abolished the language, you weren't allowed to fly green flags, you weren't allowed to play the music . . . and that feeling has persisted even to this day, to a point where most Irish musicians are really ashamed of their music because they were made to feel that way. It wasn't mainstream . . . along with that came a kind of reserve where they kept it to themselves and they didn't play for other people or they felt ashamed to play for other people.
>
> Having come from this suppression of Irish music, then come to another country, I guess they felt that it was time to put that behind them or put it away. They kept it in the back of their mind and all that. But they didn't come over to demonstrate their Irishness. They came over to blend in, to become part of American society, which they did. . . . They adapted to American ways, to American music, to American customs.[7]

Interviews with other New York-based Irish musicians indicate that the mid-to late-1950s offered few options for both informal and formal performance of traditional music. Some musicians played only infrequently in the odd ceili dance or with a handful of other musicians in private house sessions. Others set aside their traditional music and instead learned contemporary, Irish-American popular music on non-traditional instruments, thus catering to what was then marketable.

Martin Mulhaire opted for the latter. Upon arrival to New York, Mulhaire was employed at City Center — then a major Irish dance hall — to play 15-minutes of traditional Irish country dances in between sets of American big band and popular music. Among other reasons, his ambivalence towards playing the music closest to him as a filler for an audience that didn't really care forced him to set aside his accordion after a year in favor of the electric guitar. He met Matty Connolly, a recent arrival from Ireland, who, like Mulhaire, had put away his uilleann pipes and learned to play the electric bass. Along with a drummer, saxophonist, vocalist, and rhythm guitarist, Mulhaire joined Connolly's group — The Majestic Showband. A very popular band, they performed three nights a week for ten years at the Red Mill on Jerome Avenue in the Bronx, which was one of five or six dance halls in the City.

The Majestics played Irish-American showband music — a hybrid musical style which incorporates popular Irish songs with American dance standards and country-western. For both the performers and audience, Irish-American showband music served as a bridge between the traditional way of life left behind in Ireland and the new, contemporary American pace and lifestyle. Irish dance halls throughout the City featured American dance forms — foxtrots, quicksteps, slow waltzes, etc. — and immigrant and second-generation audiences socialized in a community milieu while dancing to Irish-American popular songs, American standards, country-western, and in the 1960s, rock 'n roll.

Despite the apparent lack of interest in Irish traditional music in New York during the late 1950s, 1958 nevertheless saw the formation of the now legendary New York Ceilidhe Band, an ensemble of the finest practitioners of the music in New York. Featuring fiddlers Andy McGann, Paddy Reynolds, and Larry Redican, Paddy O'Brien on button accordion, Felix Dolan on piano, Gerry Wallace on piccolo, Jack Coen and Mike Dorney on flutes, and an occasional drummer, the New York Ceilidhe Band was one of the finest and most polished groups of its kind. The band consisted primarily of Irish immigrants who came over in the mid- to late-1950s, as well as second-generation Irish-Americans.

Dan Collins, of Shanachie Records in New Jersey, was a young award-winning Irish step-dancer and an aspiring fiddler in New York at the time. He recalls that the New York Ceilidhe Band played traditional music for country set and ceili dances at the Gaelic League ceilis held in the five boroughs of New York City as well as at Masonic Hall in Manhattan and

Donnie & Eileen Golden, traditional step-dancers of Brooklyn. Photo by Paule Epstein.

that "the music was spectacular."[9] The band competed in the annual *Fleadh Cheoil* (Irish Music Competitions in Ireland) in 1960, but then fizzled as a group the following year due to a lack of a regular audience and general interest.

Unlike the Irish instrumental music tradition, traditional *sean-nos* (Gaelic: "old style") singing did not do nearly as well in the U.S. *Sean-nos* songs are unaccompanied, solo endeavors that feature highly stylized and complex ornamentation. These songs require careful concentration on the part of an Irish-speaking audience, for the tale told (most often in the Irish language) is frequently long and complicated. Once an important narrative form found primarily in the west of Ireland, *sean-nos* singing had begun to fade from practice in the early years of the 20th century. In the United States, *sean-nos* singing did not survive as did the instrumental music tradition, largely due to the inaccessibility of the Irish language, as well as the lack of a traditional performance context — the rural house party.[10] Eventually this vocal tradition was largely left behind in Ireland along with the Irish language.

Bayridge, Brooklyn was home to the legendary *sean-nos* singer of the modern age, the late Joe Heaney. Originally from Carna, an isolated fishing village in western Ireland's Connemara district, Heaney came from a long-line of traditional singers and *shanachies* (Gaelic: storytellers). He was an award-winning singer in Ireland, yet upon immigration to New York in the late 1940s, he lived in relative obscurity and rarely sang with the exception of an occasional song in his neighborhood pub in Brooklyn.[11] During these years, Heaney passed this old-style Irish tradition on to a young tin-whistle player, Eileen Clohessy, the daughter of Heaney's neighborhood friends in Brooklyn. Today, Clohessy's whistle playing is brilliant and unique, as she plays airs exactly as Heaney sang them to her.

With *sean-nos* singing virtually unknown for so many years, a more accessible Irish vocal style was popularized in the late 1950s by the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem. With beginnings in folk music clubs in Greenwich Village in Manhattan, the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem sang strictly in English, with rhythmic accompaniment of guitars and banjos. By the early 1960s, this quartet became internationally known for their lively renditions of popular Irish songs and ballads.

The Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem introduced their version of Irish singing to an audience newly interested in folk music. They did not present the songs and music in a traditional fashion: instead, they eliminated much of the ornamentation and sang the songs faster with a driving beat. Moreover, they sang in unison, which not only gave them their particular trademark as a group, but also allowed for audience participation, which was much in keeping with the pervading social activist atmosphere of the '60s in America. At the same time, Makem and the Clancy Brothers created a potential audience for the more traditional songs and instrumental dance music.

The Clancy Brothers' and Tommy Makem's influence on the younger generation was enormous. Many performers of Irish traditional music and song today developed a curiosity and an interest in the older genre of instrumental music after years of playing and listening to the Clancy Brothers. In effect, the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem became teachers of Irish music in a modern age to countless students through their concerts and recordings, radio and television appearances. These fans would seek out the older emigrés from Ireland who were masters of instrumental music and thus further the revival of the more traditional forms.

The Revival of the Tradition

By the early 1970s, New York was the center of a major revival of traditional Irish music. Irish music ensembles such as The Chieftains, The Boys of The Lough, and later, The Bothy Band and Planxty, had gained international attention, toured the United States, and flamed the interest sparked by the '60s folk music movement. A similar revival of traditional music had begun several years earlier in Ireland with the establishment of Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann (The Traditional Musicians Association). With their primary objective being the promotion of traditional Irish music and song, chapters of Comhaltas were soon established throughout the New York City area, as well as in parts of Long Island, Westchester, and New Jersey. Today, Comhaltas Clubs offer the occasional sponsorship of concerts of Irish music and dance and regular monthly music *seisúns* for local Irish musicians.

Since the 1970s, the revival of Irish traditional music in New York City has grown to include the sons and daughters of immigrants who came over in the 1940s and 1950s as well as Irish-Americans and non-Irish players whose interest began with the Clancy Brothers or later with the Chieftains and other traditional ensembles. Many events — competitions, concerts, festivals, *seisúns*, ceilis, etc. — take place both within the heavily Irish neighborhoods of New York City as well as outside the community for a growing number of enthusiastic listeners. In any given week, an Irish music afficionado can choose between many Irish traditional music, song, or dance events that take place throughout the greater New York metropolitan area. Many of the finest master practitioners of Irish traditional music — both those who reside in New York City as well as musicians from Ireland on tour — are presented to enthusiastic crowds of Irish, Irish-Americans, and the general public.

These concerts are often followed with a music *seisún* either at the concert venue or, more frequently at a nearby Irish pub. *Seisúns* also take place at pubs on a regular weekly basis throughout the boroughs of New York City and are frequently led by a single musician. A typical *seisún* offers non-professional players the opportunity to play along with semi-professional and professional Irish musicians. The ideal size of such an

event is no more than 15 players and preferably less and can include an uilleann piper, several button accordionists, fiddlers, flutists, banjo and mandolin players, and tin whistlers. Rhythm is provided most frequently by a guitarist or a bouzouki player, and less often by a pianist. The *bodhran*, a handheld drum, often rumbles out an accompanying rhythm, while an appreciative crowd surrounding the *seisún* looks on.

By the early 70s, New York was the center of a major revival of traditional Irish music.

Maureen and Tom Doherty, Snug Harbor, 1987. Photo: Kathleen Collins.

The strongest musicians in a *seisún* usually sit in a circle or near-circle, with the less proficient players sitting or standing behind. Tunes are selected by one of the stronger players who usually begins the selection without prior discussion, although in some instances, a player will ask another if he or she knows a specific tune and might lilt (sing with nonsense syllables) a few bars of the tune to remind the others how it goes. In New York (and in America in general), each tune is played through two or three times before the leader segues into another. (In Ireland, each tune is commonly played five or six times through.) Medleys contain two to four tunes of

the same rhythm (reels, jigs, slipjigs, or hornpipes) and generally are in the same harmonic key.

Seisúns are as social as they are musical and quite a bit of humorous banter takes place between tune medleys. *Seisúns* provide an ideal opportunity for musicians to exchange tunes as well as news and gossip and they thus serve as an important social outlet for Irish musicians.

Throughout New York, Irish traditional music concerts are produced by Irish organizations and by traditional music organizations in all types of venues, ranging from the smallest pub in the Kingsbridge section of the Bronx to Carnegie Hall in Manhattan. The Irish Arts Center's Irish Traditional Music Festival, held at Snug Harbor, Staten Island every June is one of two Irish traditional music festivals in the United States. It has grown in popularity from a handful of audience members and performers seven years ago to nearly 3,500 listeners and over 40 folk artists, most of whom are local to the New York/New Jersey area. This all-day, outdoor festival offers a formal performance opportunity to the older, senior masters as well as to the upcoming, younger generation of Irish traditional musicians.

The revival of interest in Irish traditional folk arts in New York can be largely attributed to the perseverance of the generation of Irish immigrants who came over in the 1940s and '50s. Despite the ambivalence and complicated sentiments they might have felt towards their native culture upon immigration, a decade and a half later they nevertheless encouraged their children to pursue music and dance lessons. As a result, an enormous increase in the number of young Irish-Americans studying the music and dance in New York became evident starting in the early 1970s.

Many of these Irish-American children learned the musical tradition from their parents or from a senior practitioner in the neighborhood. Most, however, attended one of several schools for traditional Irish music. In New York City, there are two major schools: the late Martin Mulvihill's school in the Bronx, and Maureen Glynn's schools in Brooklyn and Queens. Mulvihill, a delightful old-style fiddler from Co. Limerick, received a National Heritage Award from the National Endowment for the Arts in 1984 for passing on the music and tradition to literally thousands of children on a variety of instruments. Ms. Glynn inherited her school from her father, button accordionist John Glynn, and in the past years, taught and led award-winning ceili bands of children all under the age of 18.

Most of the young students in these schools studied the music with an eye towards competing in the annual New York *feis* (festival), the winner of which goes on to the *Fleadh Cheoil* in Ireland to compete for the All-Ireland championship. These young practitioners established their own music community, initially through the schools and competitions, and as they got older, through group music *seisúns*, concerts, and festivals. The essential social element was thus provided and served to keep many of the youngsters' attentions focused on the music and the continuation of the tradition.

Matt Connolly, Snug Harbor, 1987.
Photo: Kathleen Collins.

Interestingly, the past two decades have shown a great increase in the number of women playing traditional Irish music in the United States and particularly in New York, as documented by Mick Moloney with the album and concert tour "Cherish The Ladies."[12] Most of the women in Irish traditional music today started with Irish step-dance lessons as children, along with literally thousands of other Irish-American kids in New York. These students trained almost exclusively for the annual local dance competitions but as they approached their mid- to late-teens, most stopped altogether, while others pursued Irish music instead.

In families where the father is a traditional musician, a surprisingly large number of the daughters learned the music directly from their fathers and later joined other young Irish-American girls at traditional music schools. Moloney sees the entrance of women into the traditional music community as a result of the "success of the women's movement . . . in opening male-dominated areas of life to women." Further, he points out that the "revival of Irish traditional music . . . made (it) a socially acceptable vehicle for the expression of ethnic identity for a significant population of Irish immigrants."[13]

Among the younger generation of New York practitioners are a handful who incorporate modern non-Irish sounds into what is otherwise a traditional Irish playing style. Some do so with calculated intent, whereas others have unconsciously incorporated these modern sounds acquired from popular American music genres. The practice is not so great that a definitive syncretic style has emerged among younger players. Nevertheless, both subtle and obvious modern influences have worked their way into the music over the past decade — from touches of blues (exaggerated slides and flattened major thirds) to modern arrangements of old tunes to the extreme of using synthesizers and midis to augment the sound capabilities of an instrument or a band.

Flutist: Andy Horan; Fiddler: Dierdre Carney. Bronx, NY, 1986. Photo by Paule Epstein.

Bronx-born fiddler Eileen Ivers (b. 1965) and her partner, English-born button accordionist John Whelan (b. 1959) are among the most popular young Irish traditional musicians in New York today partly because they are superb instrumentalists but also because they have self-consciously integrated elements of bluegrass and blues into the music and arranged medleys of tunes with a modern, almost "New Age" feel. John Whelan's concern is to modernize their music in order to encourage the next generation of players:

> I'd like to think . . . that I'm bringing out the fact that the accordion can do even more . . . and bringing Irish music more into the forefront, incorporating it more with modern music. Basically, let the young people know that to play Irish music, you're not back in the 40s, you can be updated, this is the 80s . . . This is where I feel that Irish music is going and it has to go in this direction to keep the young people interested.[14]

As in past decades, the recent wave of emigration from Ireland of thousands of young Irish (the average age range is between 20 and 25) has stimulated the traditional music scene in the New York City area. The exact figure for the number of newly-arrived Irish who immigrated to New York in the past six years varies greatly depending on the information

source, with estimates ranging from 15,000 to 50,000.[15] Flocking to Irish enclaves in the Bronx (Kingsbridge and Woodlawn), Brooklyn (Bayridge), Queens (Sunnyside, Woodside, Bayside, and Flushing), and parts of Staten Island, this recent batch of so-called "young illegals" has rejuvenated what had become decaying neighborhoods of older Irish. Most do not have working papers or "green cards," but virtually all find work in various sectors of New York's service industry — mainly construction for the men and nursing or domestic work for the women.

This recent wave of immigrants has yielded many outstanding Irish traditional musicians, mainly from the west and south of Ireland, but also from the cities of Belfast, Dublin, and Cork. The newly-arrived Irish also make up a substantial new audience for Irish traditional music, a curiosity in light of the fact that the majority of this generation has been raised on a diet of rock 'n roll and country-western music. Nevertheless, a tight ensemble of traditional musicians complete with a singer in the folk Irish style, plus a typically overpowered sound system and small dance floor makes for a crowded and rollicking evening in any one of a number of Irish pubs in the outer boroughs of New York City.

Irish traditional music has fared well in the general revival of interest in traditional ethnic music both nationwide and especially in New York. Its current popularity comes only after a time when there was virtually no outlet for this expression of Irish culture; yet, the tradition was nevertheless preserved by the Irish immigrants of the various eras and passed on to their children. And in New York, the tradition is extremely strong with the Irish music community remaining a closely-knit group of diverse ages and backgrounds.

It comes as no surprise, then, that what started out centuries ago as a community based folk art remains to a notable extent exactly that, in spite of the necessary adaptations of time and location, not to mention those influences of technology and modern innovation. It is testimony to its enduring vitality that Irish traditional culture — and particularly the music — continues to thrive in New York, a city steeped in popular, commercial, and elitist culture. The continued existence in New York of this musical tradition in the face of such enormous social pressure and change bodes well for its survival and development in the future.

NOTES

1. *Trow's New York City Directory For The Year Ending July 1st, 1896*, pg. 230.
2. For an exceptional record of this period of immigrant Irish culture in the U.S., see two books by Capt. Francis O'Neill: *Irish Folk Music - A Fascinating Hobby* and *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*. Published in 1910, these books discuss in frequently peculiar detail and with great pride, the many figures in Irish music in the Chicago area during this time. (Both reprinted by Norwood Editions, Darby, PA., 1973).
3. Mick Moloney, in the album notes to "Irish Music from the East Coast of America," anecdotally notes that the market for Irish recordings in New York was so great around the time of World

War I that "Ellen O'Byrne de Witt, the main driving force behind the business, dispatched her son, Justus, to Gaelic Park in the Bronx to find Irish musicians. He found Eddie Herborn and James Wheeler playing Irish music on banjo and accordion on soapboxes there and brought them down to Columbia, who agreed to record them if the record store would agree to purchase at least 500 copies. The deal was made and James Wheeler and Eddie Herborn's recording of 'The Rocky Road to Dublin' and 'The Stack of Barley' was issued in 1915. Justus who subsequently opened his own record store in Boston . . . tells me that the 500 copies sold out in no time at all." Mick Moloney, "Irish Music From the East Coast of America," Rounder Records, 6005.

4. The Sligo style of fiddling, best exemplified by the legendary fiddlers Michael Coleman, James Morrison, Paddy Killoran, and Paddy Sweeney, is marked by an extensive use of ornaments (rolls, bowed staccato triplets); over-the-measure slurring of bow strokes (imparting a lift or lilt to the music); and a limited yet strategic use of double stops (two notes sounded together) for emphasis or variation. By far the most popular style of fiddling in New York over the years, many of the finest fiddlers today, both young and old, are Sligo-style players. Among the youngest generation of American-born fiddlers, the Sligo style generally predominates, although sometimes in variant form.

   For reissues of the above-mentioned Sligo masters, see Shanachie Records, "The Wheels of the World," SH 33001; "Paddy Killoran," SH 33003; "The Legacy of Michael Coleman," SH 33002; and "James Morrison," SH 3304.
5. The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service's Annual Report indicates that 210,024 Irish immigrated between 1921 and 1930, whereas only 10,973 came during the next decade, between 1931 and 1940. United States I.N.S. Annual Report, 1986, Washington, D.C.
6. According to the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, the number of Irish immigrants arriving in the United States between 1941 and 1950 totaled 19,789. Between 1951 and 1960, the number increased to 48,362. United States I.N.S. Annual Report, 1986, Washington, D.C.
7. Field interview with Martin Mulhaire, Flushing, N.Y., November, 1986.
8. Research on the effect that popular American culture has on traditional immigrant folkarts is currently underway by the author. This research is culminating in the production of a 13-part public radio series of half-hour documentaries entitled "Old Traditions - New Sounds," one show of which profiles Martin Mulhaire and the Irish immigrant experience.
9. Field interview with Daniel Michael Collins, March, 1988.
10. Mick Moloney, album notes to "Cherish The Ladies," Shanachie Record, 79053.
11. According to interviews with Joe Heaney prior to his death and to interviews with several sources close to Heaney, his talents as a singer were "discovered" initially by television personality Merv Griffin in the quintessential, small-world-New York fashion. Heaney was the doorman for the building in which Griffin lived on Fifth Avenue. The story goes that Griffin, on a tour of Ireland, stopped in a pub and saw a picture of Heaney on the wall. Recognizing his doorman, Griffin asked why Heaney's photo was displayed and was told by the pub owner that Joe Heaney was the greatest traditional singer ever and had won many competitions in Ireland. Upon returning to the States, Griffin asked Heaney if he would appear on his television program. Heaney agreed and was the first *sean-nos* Gaelic singer to appear over prime time on American national television.
12. Mick Moloney, album notes to "Cherish The Ladies," Shanachie Records, 79053.
13. Mick Moloney, album notes to "Fathers and Daughters," December, 1985, Shanachie Records, 79054.
14. Field interview with John Whelan, July 18, 1987, Staten Island, N.Y.
15. Although there are no precise figures available, Frank Vardy, Senior Demographer for the City of New York, estimates that there are 15,000 to 20,000 alien Irish in New York City today. The Irish Immigration Reform Movement, a lobbying group seeking to bring about change in current U.S. immigration laws, places the number closer to 50,000.

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Wheels of The World. Shanachie Records, 33001, Newton, New Jersey.
Paddy Killoran. Shanachie Records, 33003.
The Classic Recordings of Michael Coleman. Shanachie Records, 33006.
The Legacy of Michael Coleman. Shanachie Records, 33002.
The Pure Genius of James Morrison. Shanachie Records, 33004
Reissues of the legendary Sligo fiddling masters of the early 20th century, Shanachie Records, Newton, New Jersey.

Irish Music from the East Coast of America. Rounder Records, 6005, Somerville, MA. Compilation of twenty-four outstanding musicians, both young and old. Excellent album notes by Mick Moloney.
4th Annual Irish Traditional Music Festival. Global Village, C501, New York, New York. Live performance recordings of 20 of the finest Irish traditional musicians primarily from the New York/New Jersey area, as well as from other parts of the U.S. From the Irish Arts Center's 1985 edition of the festival.

Cherish The Ladies. Shanachie Records, 79053, Ho-Ho-Kus, N.J.
Fathers & Daughters. Shanachie Records, 79054
Two excellent recordings featuring primarily young women musicians, and, in "Fathers & Daughters," their fathers. Both albums feature informative notes by Mick Moloney.

The New York Allstars. Meadowlark Records, 102, a division of Shanachie Records. A lively recording of a 20-member ceili group made up of young students from the Maureen Glynn School of Traditional Irish Music of Queens, New York.
Irish Music: The Living Tradition. Green Linnet Records, 1009, New Canaan, CT. Young celli bands from the Martin Mulvhill School of Traditional Irish Music. Recorded in the mid-1970s.
Traditional Music of Ireland: Andy McGann & Paddy Reynolds. Shanachie Records, 29004, Newton, New Jersey. A first-rate collection of tunes played by the incomparable Sligo fiddling duo of New York.
Fresh Takes: John Whelan & Eileen Ivers. Green Linnet Records, 1075, New Canaan, Ct. Modern arrangements of traditional and original Irish instrumental music on fiddle and button accordion.

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From Eastern Europe to East Broadway: Yiddish Music in Old World and New

HENRY SAPOZNIK

During the Middle Ages, small communities of Jews from southern Europe settled along the Rhine River. Their language, Yiddish, evolved from High German dialects with Hebrew-Aramaic and Romance fragments during the 14th century, and their culture, *Ashkenaz*, developed and spread from the Rhine Valley to other European Jewish communities. By the end of the 18th century, Yiddish language and culture formed the common bond among Jewish communities throughout Europe. Yiddish music in its myriad forms, from folk songs to fiddle tunes, religious music to lullabies, reflects the richness of this culture.

The most influential musical form within the Ashkenazic Jewish community was the singing of religious prayers by the *khazn* (cantor). No aspect of Jewish sacred or secular music was unaffected by the style and textual content of the *khazn's* performance. Because religious leaders had banned instrumental music from Jewish ceremonies after the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (70 C.E.), only *a cappella* renditions of prayers were officially sanctioned during worship. The *khazn* assisted the *rabbi* who led Jewish services, and although the singers were supposed to emphasize the Hebrew prayer texts rather than indulge in musical pyrotechnics, there are many examples of rabbinical reprimands against cantors, often claiming that the beauty of the cantors' voices was distracting the congregants from the piety of their prayers.

The cantor, in addition to his role as a leader of community prayer, was also responsible for the training of future *khazonim*. The apprentices (*meshoyr'rim*) learned the rudiments of the special prayer modes used to accompany the cantor, and some later became cantors themselves. Religious music also thrived in the *kheyder* and *yeshive* (primary and secondary schools) where Talmudic law and Jewish traditions were taught to students with the help of specific accompanying mnemonic melodies.

Also influential were the myriad forms of unaccompanied folksongs which reflected the broad diversity of East European Jewish life. These included songs of love and marriage, lullabies and children's songs, work songs, and ballads detailing natural and national disasters. Sung mainly

in an unembellished yet compelling style, by the beginning of the twentieth century unaccompanied folksongs would heavily influence the vocal repertoire of the popular Yiddish theatre. Most of these songs have come down via oral tradition, learned from family and friends, the identity of their composers obscured with the passage of time.

The roots of klezmer dance music are earlier than the Middle Ages.

East European "Jewish" repertoire was made up of both Jewish and non-Jewish folksongs which the former sang for themselves and for their gentile neighbors. Though Jewish traditional singers used a high percentage of non-Jewish songs in their repertoire, the same cannot be said for East European gentile singers who tended to exclude Jewish tunes from their repertoires.

The Hasidim, a charismatic sect of Jews, also influenced general Yiddish music. Their interpretation of piety encouraged song and dance as a valid approach to prayer, and they accorded a great value to compositions called *nigunim* (wordless songs), whose melodies bypassed the "burden" of words in their quest for oneness with God. These tunes, meant to be sung on holidays and celebrations, build in intensity as they progress and are accompanied by clapping, foot stamping, and ecstatic dancing. Jewish religious laws mandated the separation of men and women at public gatherings; hence, there was no mixed dancing, which, in effect, created separate men's and women's dance traditions.

One of the most vital forms of Yiddish music was that of the *klezmer*. "Klezmer" is a Yiddishized contraction of two Hebrew words, *klei-zemer*, which means "vessel of melody." Klezmer dance music has been a part of Jewish celebrations since before the Middle Ages, and, although sometimes frowned upon by the rabbinate as promoting "frivolousness," instrumental music was allowed at *simkhes* (happy occasions). Prints, engravings and first-hand accounts depict klezmer musicians playing instruments common to the regions in which they lived: fiddles, cellos, string basses, flutes, drums and *tsimbls* (hammered dulcimers). By the beginning of the 19th century, the clarinet was added to the standard klezmer ensemble; and by the end of the century it became the central klezmer instrument. Later the clarinet was joined by a number of martial instruments, such as the trumpet, trombone and tuba.

Modern scholars know more about the instruments used by European klezmer musicians than about their repertoire. Before the middle of the 19th century, written klezmer music is largely non-existent. Performing for both Jewish and non-Jewish communities, the klezmer, of necessity, developed a repertoire which reflected the musical tastes of the many

diverse ethnic groups of Eastern Europe. For non-Jews, they played local East European peasant dances such as the *polka, karobishke,* and *kamariske,* in addition to accompanying popular regional songs. For upper class patrons, the klezmers' repertoire included Western popular and art music, including overtures from operas and operettas, current salon dances such as the waltz and gavotte, and popular songs from Paris and Vienna. These compositions were frequently learned from printed music ordered from large cities such as Warsaw or Odessa, and taught by the musically literate members of an ensemble to those who could not read music. For Jewish patrons, klezmer bands typically played Yiddish wedding marches, the duple-meter *sher* (scissors dance), the *mitzve tants* (blessing dance), the *kosher tants* (pre-nuptial dance), the *mezinke tants* (dance of the youngest child), and the 3/8-meter *hora* or *opfirn* (escorting the bridal couple dance), as well as other social dances.

In addition to playing for dances, the musicians would accompany the improvisatory rhymes and songs of the *badkhn,* a combination of poet, satirist, Talmudist and social critic whose pithy and sly insights into the nature of life and responsibility made him an integral part of any Jewish wedding. Klezmer musicians also performed in town squares on market days, with travelling circus bands, or provided entertainment at local inns.

During the 1870s, a new development was taking place in the burgeoning Yiddish world. From the wine cellars of Jassy, Rumania, came the Yiddish theatre of Abraham Goldfaden (1840-1908). Until Goldfaden's time, the rabbinate shunned any kind of theatre as "frivolous" and tolerated only amateur plays which were presented on certain holidays. (For example, on Purim, *Purimshpilers,* schoolboy actors, presented the story of the foiling of a plot against the Jews of ancient Persia through songs, dances and skits.) Goldfaden borrowed from sources as diverse as grand opera and the Bible, and crafted a Yiddish language musical theatre whose far-flung future influence was little imagined in its humble birthplace.

Within a few years, a number of travelling theatre companies were organized to present Yiddishized variants of the works of Shakespeare, "problem" plays based on events from the pages of daily newspapers, and historic episodes from the annals of Jewish life. Heeding the call to perpetuate this new art form, singers, comics, composers, artists, and musicians joined these travelling theatre troupes. Like their fellow klezmer performers, Yiddish acting companies also suffered at the hands of belligerent local and national governments, who instituted restrictive measures against them.

Motivated by social and political upheavals in Eastern Europe, some three million Jews emigrated between 1880 and 1924. The ultimate destination of most of these Yiddish-speaking immigrants was the United States, and among them were numerous musicians, composers, singers, actors and dancers. They and their children would soon provide the creators, performers and audiences for the Yiddish-American cultural experience.

Alter Goizman Houseman Kapelye Band (Alter Goizman Houseman on extreme left, with fiddle). Chudnov Volhynia Province, Poland, 1905. (Photo courtesy of Louis Grupp.)

Expansion and Decline, 1840s-1940s

East European Jews arrived in America during a period when the entertainment industry was expanding at a rapid rate. Beginning in the 1840s, the success of the minstrel show had solidly established a popular theatrical form that was uniquely American. The minstrel show, with its stereotypical and derogatory depictions of Negro life laid the foundation for post-Civil War variety, vaudeville, and burlesque shows. Wtih the addtional performance venues afforded by orchestras in myriad hotels and cafes, roof garden restaurants, circuses, Wild West shows, parties, picnics, political rallies, and later on records and silent movie houses, one gets the picture of a nation with an emerging leisure class going "entertainment crazy."

These newer genres continued to feature the black-face minstrels popularized in the 1840s, but also added a new cache of ethnic and national stereotypes: especially the "depictable types" who were at that moment streaming off the boats at Castle Garden and, by 1892, would arrive through Ellis Island. It is ironic that Jewish musicians seeking employment in vaudeville theatre orchestras would end up accompanying singers who would parody them with such songs as "Sheenies in the Sand," and "Yiddle On Your Fiddle Play Some Ragtime." More ironic was the fact that Jewish composers themselves, like other minorities who were eager to succeed in the highly competitive world of Tin Pan Alley, sometimes wrote racist novelty songs about their own people.

Many Jewish performers came to New York, which was both the entertainment and immigration capital of the United States. It was here that "American" opportunities were matched by a growing market for Yiddish culture supported by the city's rapidly expanding Jewish population. Within a few short years of the arrival of East European Jews, a new superstructure of "in-group" entertainment outlets was in place. Manhattan's Lower East Side soon became the center of Yiddish life in New York.

The Yiddish theatre became the meeting place where the powerful beliefs, devotions and loyalties of the Jewish community were publicly expressed.

Nowhere was the Jewish immigrant's passion for entertainment more obvious than in the rise of the Yiddish theatre. Theatres became meeting places where the powerful beliefs, devotions and loyalties of the Jewish community were publicly expressed. It was not uncommon for Jews who religiously attended synagogue on Saturday mornings to also attend the Yiddish theatre on Saturday afternoons. From the vibrant but unsophisticated offerings of Joseph Lateiner (1853-1935) and "Prof." Moyshe Hurwitz (1844-1910) during the 1890s, to the polished and influential presentations of Jacob P. Adler (1855-1926), Boris Thomashefsky (1868-1939), and Maurice Schwartz (1888-1960) during the 1920s, the Yiddish theatre offered both Jewish and non-Jewish theatre-goers a colorful and sometimes innovative theatrical experience. Complementing the rise of young Yiddish-speaking actors was a new generation of composers. Many, like Joseph Rumshinsky (1881-1956), Herman Wohl (1877-1936), and Sholem Secunda (1894-1974), received their musical training as *meshoyr'rim* in Eastern Europe and, once in New York, augmented their training with studies in both classical and popular composition.

Within a short time, the marketing of sheet music was also in full swing. Downtown Yiddish publishers expanded beyond their usual fare of sacred and secular books and began to print Yiddish sheet music. Early journeymen presses of publishers like Katzenellenbogen, S. Schenker, A. Teres, and Joseph Katz, the larger Hebrew Publishing Company, and later, Metro Music, produced thousands of Yiddish songs which found their way onto the pianos of Lower East Side music devotees.

Many of the musical-comedy stars who were popularizing the music of Rumshinsky, Wohl and Secunda were not just performing it on the stages of the numerous Yiddish theatres. Talents like Aaron Lebedeff (1873-1960), Molly Picon (b. 1898), Ludwig Satz (1891-1944), Morris Goldstein (1889-1938), Gus Goldstein (1884-1944), and Jenny Goldstein (1896-1960), were hard at work in the fledgling recording industry turning out three or four-minute versions of their popular songs. Not only were the theatre stars sought

out, but cantors like Yoselle Rosenblatt (1880-1933) — called by some "The Jewish Caruso", Berele Chagy (1892-1952), and Mordechay Hirshman (1888-1940), were enthusiastically recorded. The cantors, many of whom were brought to America by synagogues eager to add to their prestige by having a European cantor, were well-suited to the limited recording abilities of the era's primitive equipment because of their powerful voices. Klezmer bands were also sought out and recorded, allowing bandleaders like Abe Schwartz (*fl.* 1920s-40s), Naftule Brandwein (1884-1963), Dave Tarras (b. 1897), and Harry Kandel (1890-1940), to preserve a repertoire that was gradually changing in Jewish-American life.

Begun at almost the same moment as the arrival of the East European immigrants, experimental recording technology soon blossomed into an industry. Companies like Victor, Columbia, Edison, and Zon-O-Phone vied for the opportunity of selling the music of immigrants back to them. In doing so, they ironically took on the work of documenters by preserving the traditional music of a culture in transition, years before ethnomusicologists arrived. Maintaining separate catalogues of classical, popular, and ethnic music, the record companies thought little of issuing records that accurately portrayed the minority communities in one catalogue, and badly stereotyped them in another. Some 50,000 Jewish discs were made between 1894-1942, the vast majority of them before 1925. An interesting footnote to the recording of ethnic music by outsiders was the founding of perhaps the first ethnically-owned and operated record company, the United Hebrew Disc & Cylinder Record Company (UHD&C), founded in 1905 by H. W. Perlman and S. Rosansky. Perlman had already established a piano factory on the Lower East Side, making him one of the first Jewish piano builders in New York, when he entered into the record business with Rosansky a few blocks from his instrument plant. Perhaps because of the stiff competition from the larger uptown record manufacturers, or because of UHD&C's inferior quality, the company did not last past 1906.

Early recordings were relatively expensive, costing almost as much as many immigrants' daily wages. Yet, Yiddish speakers bought these records in amounts that encouraged recording companies to continue to engage performers.

By the mid-1920s, one medium that competed with the recording business was radio. This new technology afforded the listener a truer fidelity than 78 rpm records, and once the playing apparatus was purchased, the music was free. The radio not only offered music, but also news, advice, drama and sports. With just a twist of the dial, the radio emerged as a pre-eminent entree to understanding the world surrounding the Yiddish-speaking population, and helped as much as night school to bring English into the world of the Ashkenazic immigrant. Of the dozen or so New York radio stations offering Yiddish language broadcasts perhaps the most famous was WEVD. Established in 1928, owned and operated by the

socialist newspaper *The Forward* (and named after the twice-unsuccessful Socialist presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs), WEVD emerged as an outlet for the needs of both Jewish and gentile immigrant populations. Because of its diversity programming — from soap operas to musical game shows — musicians, singers, composers and arrangers were kept busy meeting the needs of a growing constituency.

The Nazi Holocaust left New York City as the world's major Yiddish cultural center.

With the passage of restrictive emigration laws in 1924, the flow of new East European Yiddish writers, musicians and actors, not to mention their audiences, was halted. With the assimilation of children of immigrants, this caused the appreciative audience for Yiddish performances to decline. Though attempts were made by enterprising impresarios to stem the tide of decreasing interest, younger Jews were more inclined to listen to jazz clarinetist Benny Goodman than to klezmer clarinetist Dave Tarras — who was to suffer the irony of being dubbed the "Jewish Benny Goodman." Yiddish actors who had begun on the Yiddish stage like Muni Weisenfreund (Paul Muni), were part of a throng making an exodus from Hester Street to Hollywood.

What assimilation had begun, the ravages of the Nazi Holocaust seemed to complete. In a few short years, European Ashkenazic culture was destroyed, leaving New York City as the major Yiddish cultural center in the world. However, except for the Hasidic communities of Brooklyn, and the few remaining secular Yiddish organizations, Yiddish and its culture were not prominent in minds of the post-Holocaust American Jewish community. The creation of the State of Israel in 1948 came with an attendant linguistic, political, and cultural agenda, none of which looked back to Eastern Europe. Hebrew replaced Yiddish, and Israel replaced Eastern Europe as a Jewish center.

The Klezmer Renewal

However, almost as gradually as the post-War interest in Yiddish culture faded during the 1940s and 1950s, a renewed interest in it developed during the 1970s and 1980s. Renewed interest was stimulated, in part, by the success of Alex Haley's "Roots," and by a young post-Holocaust generation of Jewish-Americans eager to contexualize their family and group histories. Perhaps nothing reflects this renewed interest better than the revitalization of klezmer music. Begun in the mid-1970s, the klezmer renewal inspired younger musicians to learn its repertoire. However, this renewed interest has not been confined to the melodies. The Yiddish language, history and folklore of the rich East European Ashkenazic experience are

Kapelye (left to right): Kenneth Maltz, Eric Berman, Michael Alpert, Lauren Brody, and Henry Sapoznik. Photo: James Kriegsmann.

being studied in an attempt to reacquaint the community with its nearly discarded culture. Musicians trained in Anglo-American country music, jazz, classical, and other East European folk music, were drawn to Yiddish vocal and instrumental music which had been thought passé even by those older musicians and audiences who loved them most. The revival that in 1979 numbered three klezmer bands in the United States, has grown by 1988 to include more than 50 North American klezmer ensembles, over ten of them based in the New York City area alone. What is perhaps most gratifying is the re-emergence of older, experienced klezmer musicians who have been sought out by younger players eager for stylistic models.

Paramount among these is veteran klezmer clarinetist Dave Tarras. Born into a professional klezmer family in the Ukraine, Tarras immigrated to the United States in 1922. He soon established a reputation as a virtuoso per-

Klezmer clarinetist Dave Tarras (b. 1897) playing at a wedding in New York City, mid-1940s. Photographer unknown; photo courtesy of Dave Tarras.

former and made hundreds of recordings, both as a soloist and an ensemble member, often accompanying the most famous stars of the Yiddish theatre. With the decline of interest in klezmer music, Tarras' unique style was heard by fewer and fewer people, and he rarely if ever performed outside the Jewish community. But in 1979, a successful return concert in New York City which introduced Tarras to a new, younger ethnically-mixed audience, and a subsequent album, helped re-establish his recognition as a master of the klezmer tradition. In 1984, this was offically acknowledged when Tarras was the recipient of a National Heritage Fellowship Award, given by the National Endowment for the Arts to those individuals who have demonstrated a lifetime of commitment to their cultural heritage.

For the first time in years, record companies are producing albums of traditional Yiddish music as more and more radio stations begin to play them. Klezmer bands are now finding themselves in concert series, which were until recently primarily the domain of jazz, classical and folk revival groups. Even Hollywood, in its attempt to infuse its films with more "authentic atmosphere," sought out the services of New York klezmer bands in the production of such films as "The Chosen," "Over the Brooklyn Bridge," and "Brighton Beach Memoirs."

In 1985, the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York sponsored its first Yiddish Folk Arts Institute. Dubbed "KlezKamp," this five-day event, held in the Catskill's "Borscht Belt," brought together 120 teachers and students of Yiddish language, literature, folklore, song, klezmer music, dance and visual arts. Now in its fourth year, the 1988 Institute was attended by over 270 people from across North America and Europe.

It is likely that Yiddish music and theatre in New York will never again achieve the popularity it enjoyed at the turn of this century. However, this current revitalization demonstrates that reports of its demise are, to paraphrase Mark Twain's famous quip, highly exaggerated.

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Italian Music in New York

MICHAEL SCHLESINGER

Mario Puzo, the author of *The Godfather*, writes of his childhood in Manhattan's Hell's Kitchen during the 1920s and 1930s:

> As a child in my adolescence, living in the heart of New York's Neapolitan ghetto, I never heard an Italian singing . . . And so later in my life when I was exposed to all the cliches of lovable Italians, singing Italians, happy-go-lucky Italians, I wondered where the hell the movie makers and story writers got all their ideas from. (Puzo 1972: 35).

Even if the singing Italian was not remembered by Puzo, did he not know an Italian with a player piano, a cylinder player, or a phonograph? Like his neighbors, did he not go to the puppet theatres, the music halls, or the dance halls? Did he not attend Saint's Day street *festas* and walk in procession with the brass band? Did he not drink a toast and sing a chorus; or give money to the *zampagna* (bagpipe) and *cirarculla* (reed pipe) players during the Christmas season; or listen to the Italian language radio? Puzo's remembrances may simply be his own selective memory, for there was a rich tradition of Italian folk music in New York. Another author, Sicilian-born Jerry Mangione, recalls that during his childhood in Rochester in the 1920s, music was an integral part of many family celebrations, and:

> My relatives were never at loss for finding reasons for being together. In addition to parties for birthdays, weddings, anniversaries, and Saint days, there were also parties when a child was baptized, when he was confirmed, and when he got a diploma. The arrival of another relative from Sicily or the opening of a new barrel of wine was still another pretext for another gathering of the clan. (Mangione 1978: 14-15).

Italian Music Traditions

Anthropologist Anna Chairetakis writes that "a powerful cultivated tradition in art, music and literature" developed early in Italy's history.

> There it grew up primarily, though not entirely, in the cities of Central and Northern Italy and was exported to the South by nobles and their followers. There also grew up two distinct traditions in folk culture — that of the peasants and laborers, and that of the urban artisans. For many centuries there was a creative give and take among the three traditions. In recent times, however, the artistic cultures of the peasants and artisans (the group which primarily immigrated to this country) have been increasingly deprived of their legitimacy, dignity and functions by forces such as nationalism, mass education and media. The elite "great traditions" such as opera and chamber music have, on the other hand, received more support and promotion. (Chairetakis 1985: 5).

Diego Carpitella, Alan Lomax, and other scholars collected folk music in Italy in the 1950s. In the mountains of South and Central Italy and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia they uncovered a trove of folk songs that were quite different from the standard "sophisticated" music of the North and the cities of the South. In these areas, a lower standard of living and the relative undevelopment and lack of modernization had left ancient styles relatively intact. Influences of Africa and the Near East were more prominent than those of Alpine musical traditions (Carpitella 1960; Lomax 1957a, 1957b). Again, as Chairetakis notes:

> Music is perhaps the most telling indicator of the cultural and historical divide between Northern and Southern Italy. The South's music is influenced by the Mediterranean civilizations, including those of the Middle East and Africa; the North's music is contiguous with village music traditions of Old Central Europe, and is also colored by Western European musical influences of relatively recent origin. (Chairetakis 1986: 3).

Italian Immigration and Early Italian Music in New York

Italians are diverse and there are significant differences in language and culture between the regions of Italy. Italian unification occurred only in the 1860s, and thus the cultural differences between regions was enormous during the early part of the 20th century when the major wave of immigation to America took place. The differences between regions in Italy still exist today, and can be seen among new immigrants who have arrived since the mid-1960s when changes in American laws led to renewed immigration.

Until the 1860s, the few Italians who immigrated to the United States were generally upper-class well-educated northerners. They were followed by southern Italian *contadini*, peasants with little or no formal education. Their decisions to leave Italy were the result of a combination of factors:

poverty; continued civil war that remained unresolved even after the unification of Italy in the 1860s; unsympathetic northern Italian overlords; a series of natural disasters; and an America that welcomed their labor.

By 1940, more music recordings had been produced by Italian-Americans than by any other non-English-speaking group in the U.S.

In 1910, New York City's Little Italy had a population of approximately 350,000. This large population desired its own forms of traditional entertainment. Lou Rossi, a man now in his mid-70s, operates E. Rossi & Company on the corner of Grand and Mulberry Streets in Little Italy. He remembers entering the family's business as a young boy delivering rolls of Italian music for player pianos. The family remained involved in producing and distributing Italian music for many years. They published and sold sheet music, and recorded and issued records on their own Geniale and Azzurro labels. In addition, they advised the large non-Italian owned record companies on what music to record, and sold those recordings as they were issued.

Italian-Americans were record buyers. From 1894 to 1942, at least 473 individuals and groups made Italian ethnic recordings in America. Most of these recordings were produced in the New York area, since many of the recording companies and music of the nation's Italian population were located in the metropolitan region. Indeed, by 1940, more language and music recordings had been produced by Italian-Americans than by any other non-English-speaking group in the United States.[1]

The range of material recorded and issued is tremendous: unaccompanied singing, polyphonic singing, archaic instruments (for example *La Zampopgna*, the bagpipe; *La Ciaramella*, the shawm; *Il Triccaballacche*, a clapper made of three wooden hammers); modern instruments: mandolins; accordions (*L'Organetto* - diatonic pushbutton and *fisarmonica* - chromatic piano), clarinets, and violins; spoken word (comedy, sermons, drama); large military bands and small band ensembles as well as accompanied singers. These records were made for Italian American consumption. They were not simply recordings of high culture Italian opera and "classical" music but rather a mix of popular entertainments, regional folk music, and hybrid Italian-American materials.

Some artists like Edwardo Migliaccio, also known as Farfariello, developed uniquely American forms of Italian entertainments. He performed musical skits with titles like *Il Re Dei Bottleggers* (The King of the Bootleggers), *Cunailante Bella* (Beautiful Coney Island) and *Pascale 'E Mulberry Stritte* (Patsy of Mulberry Street) which evoked events and places that were almost unknown in Italy and in a language that was part stan-

Three generations of the Pietrangelo family of Buffalo and Niagara Falls: Tony, Antonio, and Francesco. Photo: Stephen Mangione.

Vic Petronella and Chuck Cordone, popular community musicians in Buffalo. Photo: Stephen Mangione.

dard Italian, part dialect and part English. He performed on stage as well as recording over 125 sides between the years 1907 to 1935 (Schlesinger 1986).

The record advertisements did not say only "Italian," but also *Abruzzese, Barese, Siciliani, Tuscan, Calabrese* and other regions. Regional, not national, identity was the rule. One of Lou Rossi's brothers, Ed, gave Neapolitan lessons to Sicilian singers in the city so that when they recorded, it would "sound right." In this case "sounding right" meant appealing to the record's potential New York buyers, the majority of whom were immigrants from southern Italy — not Sicily or northern Italy.

Current Practitioners and Revivalists

A number of traditional rural and village musical practices continue to survive in Italian immigrant communities in New York State and in neighboring New Jersey. For example, Giuseppe De Franco of Bellville, New Jersey, continues to perform Calabrian *tarantellas* on the *organetto* (button accordion), while his wife Raffaela De Franco sings ballads, lullabies, serenades, devotional and love songs in a tense high-pitched style characteristic of southern Italy. Angelo Fiorello, a Sicilian-born barber currently living in Buffalo, is an outstanding performer of Sicilian folk songs and sung poetry known as *stornello.* Antonio Pietrangelo, his son Francisco, and his grandson Tony represent three generations of organetto players from the Buffalo/Niagara Falls region. The elder Pietrangelo, from the Abruzzi region of south-central Italy, has passed on his repertoire of traditional waltzes, polkas, and mazurkas. These and other traditional Italian-American musicians still perform for family singing, holiday gatherings, and church related events. However, they cannot support themselves financially as performers, for by-and-large their music is considered antiquated and is generally ignored by the larger Italian-American community in New York.

In the early 1980s, Anna Chairetakis recorded several outstanding older musicians in the Italian communities of the Niagara Frontier Region of New York State and southern Ontario. This effort was an outgrowth of a 1979 Buffalo-based survey of Italian folk arts by anthropologists working with local Italian-Americans. The results of their work were incorporated into the Scampagnata Folk Festival of Western New York held at Lewiston's Art-Park from 1979-1984. Performers presented staged interpretations of community work party (such as cornhuskings) music, the *cuzana* of the cart driver, the music of carnival, ancient ballads of *cummare* (neighbors) of the sewing circle, and drinking songs of the taverns (see Global Village Music #675-678). The festival contributed to an increased awareness of the diversity of Italian folk culture in the region.

In 1983 the Ethnic Folk Arts Center presented the first in a series of musical concerts titled *"Musica Popolare."* The tour featured regional music, song, dance and folk poetry from Southern Italy and Sardinia. Performed

by Italian and Italian-American musicians and supported by the Italian government and American federal and state arts endowments, the concerts were presented at sites throughout New York State and in other parts of the United States. Among the styles and instruments included were Sardinian *lundeddas* (a triple oboe) played by one of its last masters, Dionigi Burranca; Calabrian *Villanella* choral singing by Carmine Ferraro, and other residents of Westerly, Rhode Island;[2] and Neapolitan *tammurriata* singers and percussionists from Bellville, New Jersey.

Buffalo's Coro Alpino, at Artpark, Lewiston, NY. Photo: Donald Summers.

In addition there are increasing signs of a revival of interest in traditional music within New York's Italian community. For example, in 1984, Brooklyn born Gino DiMichele, the son of Italian immigrants, recorded an album of mandolin and guitar duets with Matteo Casserino, a mandolinist from Pozallo, Sicily. Their playing has the coloration and spirit of the mandolin music recorded during the early decades of this century. As the liner notes to the album recount, Casserino was "apprenticed at the age of twelve to a local carpenter, he spent his free time with his musicians friends, practicing, playing at weddings and parties, and seranading on street corners. In 1936, Matteo immigrated to the United States, and for the next 23 years he rarely played the mandolin. He travelled around America, working as a carpenter and cabinet maker and raising a family. He eventually settled in San Francisco where one day in 1959, while sitting in a barbershop in the city's Italian district, he spotted a mandolin hanging on the wall. Matteo took it down and began playing the tunes

he had learned years before in another barbershop. Encouraged by the response of the shop's customers, he started practicing and was soon performing on weekends as a duo with Nick Sfarzo, a talented blind guitarist."

For American-born DiMichele, playing with Casserino has been a rediscovery of his heritage which he had denied for many years. He played American folk music in Greenwich Village in the late 50s and early 60s under the name of Gene Michaels. His interest in Italian music was rekindled in 1978 when he met Casserino and they teamed up to play at Italian restaurants and cafes. They have performed at the National Folk Festival and the San Francisco Festival of the Sea, and they now play regular luncheon performances at an Italian restuarant in San Francisco.

I Giullari Di Piazza is a New York City based troupe of musicians, singers and actors who perform adaptations of theaterical and musical traditions from southern Italy. The troupe interprets folk-based material with a cast of first and second generation Italian-Americans as well as non-Italians. Their performances borrow from American theaterical and musical traditions as well as the Italian traditional music revival popularized by groups such as *Nuova Compagia Di Canto Popolare* in Italy.

Another recent grassroots expression of Italian folk culture was a series of Christmas music pageants presented by Antonio Romano, a young immigrant from Molise, who earns his living running a Cafe in Little Italy. Performed with a troupe of musicians, friends, and relatives, his Christmas pageants were advertised as *"Natale Nel Sud Italia / Zampongne Organetti / Musica Regionale Molise / Calabria."* It is a loosely run grassroots version of *I Giullari Di Piazza* presentations.

In America renewed interest in traditional music during the past twenty years has gone hand and hand with reissues of recordings of master musicians. The revival of Jewish klezmer music, Anglo-American string band music, and Celtic instrumental music have all been fueled by reissues of classic recordings that serve as source material for younger musicians to learn repertoire and style. Recent reissues of older Italian-American recordings may indeed be starting to serve a similar function.[3]

Within New York's Italian community there is continued support for so-called "high art" forms such as opera. In 1986, *La Follia Di New York*, the oldest Italian cultural magazine in America, marked its 94th year of publication with "Eroica Philharmonia," a gala concert at New York City's Town Hall featuring "some of today's top operatic performers from the Metropolitan Opera and the New York City Opera." 1986 was also the year the magazine began bi-lingual publication, its base of readers fluent in Italian having dwindled. *La Follia* announced it was proud to "continue to reach a select list of readers dedicated to the arts. Its efforts will continue to reach the cream of the crop of Ital-Americans, who are opera lovers and also lovers of good food." (Reagon 1986: 1).

Saint's Day *festas* have been going on in the streets of New York for almost as long as Italian communities have been present. Jacob Riis wrote in 1899 of a San Donato's feast day at which the musicians blew "Santa Lucia" on their horns and noted that

> San Donato's feast-day is one of very many such days that are celebrated in New York in the summer months. By what magic the calendar of Italian saints was arranged so as to bring so many birthdays within the season of American sunshine I do not know. But it is well. (Riis 1975: 40)

Coro Trento of Brooklyn. Photo courtesy of Mario Dallao.

Almost 90 years later, the bands play on in New York as well as in other cities although their existence is often threatened. Mary Jo Sanna writes that

> the lack of community bands forces the Italian feast committees to hire outside professional bands. Today band members are paid individually for playing, while in the past, if there was money involved, it would go directly to the band. The repertoire has expanded from stately Italian marches and operatic excerpts to include non-Italian material. (Sanna 1988: 10)

In New York, pseudo-Italian music such as the theme from the movie *Rocky* is played by bands similar to one Sanna has documented. The feast bands and Italian American professional performers have added the Italo-Pop tunes of the past and those tunes have, in turn, become part of the Italian-American tradition. The theme from the 1972 movie *The Godfather* is not old enough to be performed along with other classics such as *Santa Lucia* and *Arrivederci Roma*.

Traditional-derived Italian music will undoubtedly survive in New York for some time to come. The influx of new Italian immigrants continues to supply the New York community with outstanding players and musical ideas from the old-country. Meanwhile, a new generation of Italian-Americans is taking a more active interest in their heritage and starting to learn from the older practitioners of their traditional music. Perhaps, like the Italian revival troupe *Nuova Compagnia di Canto Popolare*, they will reinterpret traditional styles in innovative new ways. Whether the result will be a major revitalization remains to be seen. If so, first, second, and third generation descendents of immigrants will look back to rediscover their traditions and forward to affirm with pride their identity as Italian-Americans.

NOTES

1. Italian recordings make up the largest section of the preliminary version of Richard K. Spottswood's *Ethnic Music on Records*.
2. Rebecca Miller has produced a 30 minute radio performance documentary of Calabrian singer Carmine Ferraro for the public radio program, "Old Traditions — New Sounds."
3. *Rimpianto* C 601 is a survey of mixed styles from the period 1915-1929 including marching tunes and popular love songs, an unaccompanied lullaby, a comedy skit and poignant mandolin melodies. C 602 *L'Appuntamento* and C 603 *Speranze Perdue* are two volumes of Italian mandolin music surveying the years 1913-1950 and the instrument's many roles, from accompanist to singers, to a vurtuoso's tool. (See Schlesinger 1986, 1988A, 1988B)

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Puerto Rican Music in New York City

ROBERTA L. SINGER

The music most frequently associated with the Puerto Rican community in New York City is the popular commercial music known as *salsa*, but there are many other forms of music that flourish in varying degrees in the community. In fact, *salsa* itself is not a music form. Rather, it is a particular style of playing and instrumentation that is based on a variety of older musics that have been redefined and reinterpreted in the *salsa* format. The Cuban *son*, which had become very popular in Puerto Rico in the early 1930s, provided the primary basis for *salsa*, but other Caribbean musics, including many traditional Puerto Rican forms, have also been interpreted in the *salsa* style.

Traditional Puerto Rican music was first brought to New York during the migrations of many thousands of Puerto Ricans that began in the 1920s and reached a peak in the decade following World War II. Changing and diminishing opportunities for performance of traditional music, combined with the popularity of commercial music, overshadowed and threatened the health of Puerto Rican folk music in New York. Traditional music was relegated primarily to holidays and special occasions, and was practiced largely by an traditional population.

The large and powerful Latino identity movements of the late 1960s and early '70s, however, with their focus not only on social and economic justice but on seeking the roots of their own cultures, brought about a renewed interest in traditional musical forms on the part of younger New York Puerto Ricans. Presently, in addition to informal grassroots performances of traditional music, Puerto Rican musicians have organized formal groups to perpetuate the traditional styles and present them to both in-group and more general audiences.

Puerto Rican Migrations to New York

Over the course of nearly a century, the United States and Puerto Rico have had a unique and controversial relationship that has resulted in the New York area having the largest Puerto Rican population outside of the Island. Puerto Rico became a protectorate of the United States in 1898 when Spain ceded its Island colony following the Spanish-American war. From

that moment on, the history of United States-Puerto Rico relations has been marked by the unsuccessful but continuing struggle of the Puerto Rican people to gain control of their own political, economic and cultural destiny.

A distinguishing feature of the colonial relationship was that in 1917 citizenship was imposed on the Puerto Rican people over the opposition of the Island's Resident Commissioner and its House of Delegates. It was no coincidence that the Congressional Act that made Puerto Ricans citizens, also made Puerto Rican men subject to United States draft laws at the advent of World War I. The 1917 act also served to forestall any concerted official effort on the Island to obtain independence or greater control over its own interests.

Citizenship also facilitated the movement of Puerto Ricans from the Island to the mainland, eliminating the delays and restrictions faced by other immigrant groups. The agricultural mechanization begun early in the century by North American investors began to decline in the 1920s and totally collapsed in the 1930s, displacing large numbers of rural workers to the cities and the mainland. By 1940, all sectors of the Island's economy were in chaos.

At the end of World War II, U.S. government economists predicted a shortage of nearly two million workers for private industry and the service sector. The need for cheap labor on the mainland, coupled with an already monstrous unemployment situation on the Island, led to what has been called the migratory explosion in the 1940s, which lasted until the end of the 1950s. Tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans, the vast majority of whom were poor, rural, fairly young, unskilled, and with little formal education, left their homeland to seek employment on the mainland. While Puerto Ricans have settled in every state, the New York City area has by far the largest population, approximately one million (1980 Census), nearly equaling that of Puerto Rico itself.

In the late 1940s, Puerto Rican immigrants from the same home towns began to form "home-town" social clubs in New York. These clubs, named after the home towns, were intended to re-create the Island culture. They also gave members a means of coping with an alien culture, assisted newcomers in adapting to life in the city, and provided a forum for the discussion of the problems of daily existence. The clubs were decorated with artifacts, memorabilia and photographs from home. They were family-oriented places where members could come together to socialize in a manner they had been used to on the Island. The music performed in the clubs provided entertainment and aided in creating a sense of the home town. Although as a venue for social interaction the importance of the clubs began to decline in the early 1960s, they served a valuable function in providing a locus for the perpetuation of traditional homeland culture, including music.

The Puerto Rican migrations and the growing population and musical influence of other Hispanic peoples in New York have resulted in an array of Latino music styles being performed by Puerto Rican New Yorkers. These include traditional Puerto Rican *jíbaro* music, and *bomba* and *plena;* Afro-Cuban rumba and ritual music; popular *salsa* music; styles rooted in tradition but which bridge the gap between traditional and *salsa;* and experimental styles generally referred to as Latin jazz; as well as other Caribbean music styles such as Dominican *merengue.* Additionally, non-Latinos and Latinos other than Puerto Ricans play these musics, and some Puerto Ricans play a variety of styles. The reality of life in New York City, with its many overlapping cultural, economic and geographic boundaries, combined with an underlying similarity among different cultural practices — especially Caribbean — makes for a very fluid and complex network of musicians and music styles.

Traditional Music

There are two primary categories of traditional Puerto Rican music played in New York, *jíbaro* music and *bomba* and *plena.* Although they are both deeply rooted in the soil of the Island, each is derived from a different source. The Spanish derived *jíbaro* music is identified with the interior mountain areas, while the African derived *bomba* and *plena* are associated with the coastal regions.

Jíbaro is an indigenous term used to identify people from the interior rural, mountainous regions of Puerto Rico. *Jíbaros* are mainly of Spanish ancestry and the traditions brought by Spanish settlers to the interior regions served as a basis for the formation of the unique cultural expression of the *campesinos* (farmers — also known as *jíbaros*). The music of the *campesinos* developed a distinctive Puerto Rican flavor that reflects and expresses the land and its people.

A typical *jíbaro* ensemble consists of solo voice, guitar, *güiro* (a scraped notched gourd) and one or two *cuatros* (a small 10-stringed guitar-like instrument). Since the 1950s, some *jíbaro* ensembles, such as Conjunto Melodía Tropical (see Fig. 1), have added bongo drums. *Jíbaro* music consists of both instrumental pieces and accompanied singing. The lyrics, set in poetic verses that may be either improvised on the spot, or pre-composed, or a combination of both, express the *jíbaro's* intense love for the land and the lifestyle of the countryside.

In early nineteenth-century Puerto Rico, large plantations *(haciendas)* were formed as a result of Spanish land grants, which gave one family, well-connected to the colonial government, control over large portions of land, much of which was already being worked independently by *jíbaros.* Under the *hacienda* system, the *jíbaros* became sharecroppers. The *hacendados* — landowners — perceived themselves as part of the aristocratic class with ties to the urban aristocracy and colonial government, rather than

as part of an agrarian class. Their aristocratic lifestyle was carried over to their country homes, into which they brought pianos and the European music of the salons of the cities. The piano, the European music played on it, and the orchestras brought from the cities to the *haciendas* for special occasions, were symbols that reinforced the *haciendados'* aristocratic pretentions. Through the *haciendados,* the *campesinos* came into contact with such European instrumental dance forms as the *vals* (waltz), *polka* and *mazurka,* which they adapted to their own expressive style and instrumentation and which have become an integral part of the *jibaro* music repertoire.

Figure 1. *Conjunto Melodia Tropical. Photo: Martha Cooper/City Lore.*

The *danza* was a form popular among the elite in the urban areas of Puerto Rico. It was written by composers using the Western art-music structure of a clearly marked introduction/refrain and two or more contrasting sections, and was performed by dance orchestras modeled on European salon ensembles. During the 19th century, it became popular among the elite all over the Caribbean and, like the earlier European dance forms, was adapted by local *campesino* ensembles.

In addition to the adaptations of European dance music, the *campesinos* possess a rich and varied repertoire of forms, such as the *aguinaldo* and various types of *seis.* These forms, although influenced by Spanish-derived traditions, are so expressive of the *jibaro* world view and lifestyle that, in the words of one *jibaro* singer in New York City, "they could only have come

from our mountains" (interview with Quique Galarza, 1987).

The *seis* takes its name from a six-couple dance and refers to a variety of music and dance forms, although not all *seises* are intended for dancing. *Seises* are identified in a number of ways: by town of origin, such as the *seis de Fajardo;* type of dance, as in *seis choreao;* type of text, as in *seis con décima;* harmonic structure, as in *seis mapayé;* or composer, such as *seis de Adino. Seis mapayé* is more commonly known as *le-lo-lai,* after the vocables sung at the beginnings of each verse. *Le-lo-lai* is characterized by a more varied harmonic structure than the other *seises* and by its minor mode. Because of its characteristic vocables it is also one of the most easily recognizable forms of *seis.* Improvised texts about home, the land, motherhood, and idealized love invariably evoke for nostalgia for Puerto Rico among listeners, whether or not they were born on the Island.

Seis con décima has the slowest tempo of all *seises* and is one of the few not danced. The text is based on an old 10-line Spanish verse form, known as *décima,* which provides a fixed structure within which singers may improvise their texts. *Jíbaro* singers frequently use stylized imagery to pay homage to the beauty of the homeland and its people. The *décima* is found throughout the Caribbean and Latin America, and is incorporated into other forms of *jíbaro* music, such as the *aguinaldo.*

The *aguinaldo* differs from *danzas, seises* and other European-derived dance forms because it is associated with a particular season. The word *aguinaldo* means "Christmas or New Year's gift" and during the Christmas season, groups of singers and musicians travel from house to house in *parrandas* (carolling parties) singing *aguinaldos.* The texts, which are based on the *décima* verse structure, may be religious, secular, or a combination of both. The Christmas season in Puerto Rico begins in early November, and continues through *Octavitas,* eight days after *el dia de Reyes* (Three Kings Day) on January 6th.

With the migration of *campesinos* from the rural to urban areas of the Island in the 1930s, *jíbaro* music underwent a shift in function. In the countryside the music remained a part of everyday life in formal and informal contexts. In the cities of Puerto Rico, special celebrations such as weddings, baptisms and holidays became the primary settings for this music. In New York, *jíbaro* music was played in the hometown social clubs where, once again, it was used for informal entertainment as well as on special occasions.

There are still some expert practitioners of *jíbaro* music in New York. Many continue to play for themselves and their communities throughout the year, especially at Christmas time and in special celebrations. Some have organized into formal ensembles to play at Puerto Rican events, festivals, and public concerts. Additionally, folk arts organizations such as City Lore, the Ethnic Folk Arts Center, the Caribbean Culture Center, the Association of Hispanic Arts, and the World Music Institute, present *jíbaro* music both within the community and for wider audiences.

Although the music holds a special meaning for the elders, many younger Puerto Ricans — especially those who grew up with *jíbaro* music in their homes — feel an affinity for the music. Some play it with their elders in the traditional manner, while others play it in an updated style using electric *cuatro*, guitar, bass, bongos, and other instruments not traditionally associated with *jíbaro* music. Some years ago, Willie Colon, a noted *salsa* musicians, included Yomo Toro, a well-known *jíbaro cuatro* player on a very successful Christmas album. This album served to validate *jíbaro* music traditions — even in the context of a *salsa* band — for Puerto Rican youth who considered them passe.

"Latinos and non-Latinos — including black and white American, Japanese, and European musicians — find the synthesis of Latin rhythms an exciting vehicle for creative expression and experimentation."

Bomba and *plena* are the only distinctive African-derived music and dance forms of Puerto Rico. They developed in such coastal towns as Ponce, Mayaguez and Loiza Aldea where large communities of Black workers gathered around the sugarcane mills in the 1800s. With the displacement of people from the coastal towns to San Juan and other urban areas in search of work in the early 1900s, *bomba* and *plena* became an important part of urban as well as rural cultural life throughout the Island. Both forms of music are performed for entertainment at informal social gatherings.

There are different types of *bomba*, each having its own characteristic rhythm, but all are danced by a male/female couple and dance is an integral part of the performance. In the dance, the partners take turns displaying their skills, competing with one another, and "dialoging" with the lead drummer by responding to his *toques* (drum strokes) with dance movements and getting him to respond musically to their movements.

Traditionally, *bomba* dancing and singing are accompanied only by percussion instruments. The ensemble consists of *fuá* or *cuá* — a pair of sticks struck on a hard resonant surface that provide a fixed organizing rhythmic time-line; *maraca;* and two or three barrel-shaped *bomba* drums. Two *bomba* drums are the low-pitched *buleadores* that provide the supporting rhythm; one is the higher pitched *subidor* that communicates with the dancers.

Bomba uses a call-and-response pattern with improvised and traditional texts sung by the lead singer who is answered by the chorus in a fixed response. The texts are usually on such topical themes as social relationships, work, or community and historical events. They may also be spontaneous comments on activities taking place during the performance.

Although *bomba* and *plena* both flourished in the cities, *plena* was known

as a street music that came to be associated with night life, especially in the San Juan area. Many New York *pleneros* remember the *"Parrada 21"* ("Stop 21") section of Santurce (named after the local bus stop) where *plena* was played on the streets, at ball games, and in night clubs. Perhaps the ease with which the instruments could be carried helped make *plena* a more "portable" music form.

In contrast to the highly percussive nature of *bomba* — where even the singing has a rhythmic quality — *plena* is more melodic. Although also Africa-derived, *plena* incorporates more European musical elements than does *bomba*. Additionally, the dance that accompanies *plena* is a couple dance but it is neither an integral part of the performance as in *bomba*, nor a vehicle for displaying expertise or in dancing or dialoging with the drummer. *Bomba* cannot be performed without the dance; *plena* often is.

A number of instruments may be used in various combinations in the *plena* ensemble. The most characteristic are the *panderetas* — hand-held frame drums of different sizes and pitches that serve the same functions as the three drums used in *bomba*, except that the lead drummer does not dialog with the dancers. The lead drum — called *requinto* — reinforces and accents portions of the rhythmic structure of the song text as well as taking improvisatory solos. At least three *panderetas* are needed for the *plena* ensemble, and some groups have as many as five, although only one *requinto* may be played at a time. The *güiro* (scraped gourd), playing a fixed rhythm, is an indispensable part of the *plena* ensemble, which is traditionally rounded out by a harmonica or accordion. A guitar may also be included. In recent years, some ensembles have added a *conga* drum. Taking their name from *Parrada 21* in the Santurce section of San Juan, Los Pleneros de la 21 (see Fig. 2) is one of the most active traditional *bomba* and *plena* ensembles in the New York area. The group uses a *cuatro* to emphasize the melodic line and sometimes a bass for added rhythmic and harmonic support.

The traditional contexts for *bomba* and *plena* have undergone many changes — from sugarcane mill towns, to urban Island courtyards and streets, to the streets and hometown social clubs of New York. *Bomba* is hardly ever played in New York in the kinds of informal contexts that were traditional on the Island. But *plena*, perhaps because of the portability of the *panderetas*, is played spontaneously at beaches, local ball games, parks and other community gathering places, although with less frequency and with smaller numbers of participants than on the Island.

During the past several years there has been renewed interest in *bomba* and *plena* among younger New York Puerto Ricans. As with *jíbaro* music, new groups are being formed to play at events both in the Puerto Rican community and for multi-ethnic audiences. Additionally, *bomba* and *plena* are being reinterpreted in the *salsa* format by a number of Island- and New York-based *salsa* bands.

Figure 2. *Los Pleneros de la 21. Photo: Martha Cooper/City Lore.*

Other Music Styles

There are groups in New York playing in a range of styles rooted in tradition but with creative innovations, through *salsa* to experimental styles generally referred to as Latin Jazz. Groups such as Pepe Castillo's Bomplené play *bomba* and *plena* using traditional and contemporary instrumentation. *Conga* drums are substituted for *bomba* drums, horns and electric bass are added, but the other instruments are traditional. The forms are clearly recognizable as *bomba* and *plena*. They play in a style similar to that of Rafael Cortijo, who popularized *bomba* and *plena* in the *conjunto* (small band) format in the 1950s.

Many streams converged to form the music that is referred to as *salsa*, but the Cuban *son* was probably the most important. The *son* was adopted by Puerto Rican musicians on the Island and in New York in the 1930s and, in New York, its popularity was reinforced by the interaction between Cuban and Puerto Rican musicians who played *son* together.

African-American big-band jazz stimulated the formation of Latin big bands that brought Puerto Rican, Cuban and African-American musicians together to play in a style that integrated compositional concepts of the big band horn sections with full Afro-Cuban rhythm sections. This relationship between jazz and Latin music led to the creation of a distinctly New York Latin sound, which was played largely by Puerto Rican musicians.

The *mambo*, an international dance fad of the 1950s, developed out of the *mambo* section of the Cuban *son*. Puerto Rican big-band leaders Tito Puente and Tito Rodríguez, and Cuban-born Machito, expanded the *mambo*

section into its own form and created the first major "cross-over" of Afro-Caribbean music. Other Cuban-based dance fads, such as the *cha-cha-cha*, reached a cross-over market and created an interest in Latin music beyond the growing Puerto Rican and Cuban communities in New York.

In addition to the bands that consisted largely of New York Puerto Ricans, popular Cuban artists who came to New York to perform, brought their music "charts" with them and hired the New York Puerto Rican musicians to accompany them. The training that the predominantly young New York musicians received in these bands, combined with their work in the New York-based bands, laid the foundation for the style that came to be called *salsa* in the late 1960s.

The interaction between the Cuban and New York music scenes ended with the cessation of diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1962. After that, *salsa* increasingly developed a distinctly New York flavor. To New York Puerto Rican musicians, who had grown up listening to African-American as well as Latino popular music, the former offered a source for new musical ideas. "Boogaloo," a tremendously popular African-American music and dance form of the mid-1960s, was adopted by the Latin bands and reinterpreted as Latin *bugalú*, using standard Latin band instrumentation plus a set of trap drums. The Latin rhythm was changed to emphasize the back beat—a characteristic of African-American music — and the lyrics were sung in Spanish and English.

The traditional music of the various Latino peoples living in New York also served as a source for the New York Latino musicians. While prior to 1962 Latin popular music was based primarily on Cuban forms (except for the popular *bomba* and *plena* of Rafael Cortijo mentioned above), after that time, forms such as the Colombian *cumbia*, Dominican *merengue*, *bomba*, *plena*, and various *jíbaro* forms were reinterpreted in the *salsa conjunto* (small band) format.

The influx of Cubans in the early 1980s and the visits of some Cuban music ensembles resulted in a reconnection with Cuban style. However, *salsa* remains a uniquely New York phenomenon. Puerto Rican musicians are still its primary exponents, although musicians from all over the Caribbean and Latin America also participate in the performance of *salsa*.

As a commercial label and in popular parlance, the term *salsa* refers to a range of ensemble formats and music styles that have as their base Latin music forms and rhythms. But some groups tend more than others to adhere to the core elements that define the music as Latin. Conjunto Libre, a group consisting of primarily of Puerto Rican *salsa* musicians identify certain musical concepts and values that are central to the performance of Latin music. If these elements are present and are played "correctly" in their estimation, then even experimental music that combines avant garde instrumentation and modalities can be considered Latin music. Nearly all the musical concepts and values thought by this group to be central to *salsa* relate to rhythmic competence and a percussive approach to performance

that derives from an African-rooted musical aesthetic. *Clave* — a two-three or three-two rhythmic pattern over two bars — is the most salient feature of Latin music. *Clave* serves as a rhythmic organizing principle for the entire ensemble and many musicians feel that without it, the music cannot be defined as Latin. In addition, similar organizing rhythmic time-lines are found in most African-based Caribbean traditional music forms, including *bomba* and *plena*.

Many Afro-Caribbean forms converged to shape it, but salsa *is a uniquely New York phenomenon.*

Other features, such as the pitch-timbre-rhythm complex produced by the performance of interlocking rhythmic patterns in the drums, are also seen as central to the definition of Latin music. In *salsa*, this musical concept may be played by three drums, or may take the form of rhythmic interaction between drums, piano and bass. For Conjunto Libre, for whom musical experimentation and innovation are a critical part of their approach to Latin music, the maintenance of certain aspects of tradition is part of the process of defining Latin music in their own terms.

For lack of a better label, the experimental, highly improvisatory music that combines Latin rhythmic structures and instrumentation with jazz and avant garde modalities, and contemporary electronic instruments, has come to be called Latin Jazz. As is the case with *salsa*, there is a wide range of music styles that fall under this rubic. More than in any other category of Latin music, the participants in this Latin based, tradition-inspired experimental music represent a microcosm of New York City's non-mainstream musical world. Latinos and non-Latinos — including black and white American, Japanese, and European musicians find the synthesis of Latin rhythms with its wide-ranging innovations, an exciting vehicle for creative expression and experimentation.

Conclusion

The network referred to at the start of this paper, that of musicians and the music styles in which they participate, becomes increasingly complex the further away we move from the traditional music. Almost without exception, Puerto Ricans are the only musicians playing traditional *bomba*, *plena* and *jibaro* music, although some of them — primarily the younger ones — participate in making music other than that which is clearly defined as traditional. For all of the participants, however, there is a sense of playing music that is theirs. Music performance is a type of symbolic communication that serves to reinforce and affirm ethnic identity and group cohesion. As such, music performance may become part of a political process in which ethnicity is an organizing principle used to improve group

status.

Over the past forty years students of ethnicity (see Bennett, Glazer and Moynihan, Royce) have noticed that groups utilize traditional cultural symbols for definitions of their own identity, particularly when confronted with the pressures of immigration, urbanization and acculturation that call that identity into question. The use of traditional symbols renders the past important not for its own sake, but for the continuity and grounding it offers for contemporary existence. Thus, all performance of Puerto Rican music, whether traditional or tradition-inspired, is a display of ethnicity by the performers, whether or not they consciously acknowledge that display.

The Latino identity movements of the late 1960s and '70s, of which Puerto Ricans were a part, set the stage for a resurgence of interest in traditional music styles. For some popular musicians it also served to highlight the importance of traditional music elements at a time when the commercial industry was molding popular taste and diluting the traditional core of the music. The issue becomes complex when we consider that, for Puerto Rican musicians playing *salsa*, the roots lie primarily in Cuban music. But for a generation of New York Puerto Ricans who grew up with Cuban and Puerto Rican music, there is no disjuncture: this is *their* music. Additionally, by this time they had begun to interpret *bomba*, *plena* and *jibaro* music forms in the *salsa* format. According to one *salsa* musician, "There's a nationalistic sense of pride when people hear *salsa*. They say 'That's *our* music.' It gives people pride in their Ricanness and Latinoness" (interview with Oscar Hernández, 1978).

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"Rock the House:" The Aesthetic Dimensions of Rap Music in New York City

MADELINE SLOVENZ

> People don't understand our [rap] music because . . . we're not worried about what they're saying. We're worried about the beat, worried about how it gets our spirits moving . . . That's just it. We're one on one with the rappers; and we think we are them when we're dancing (Fuller 1984).

Although rap music currently receives a great deal of attention on the radio and has had significant success on pop charts, it may be considered folk music for at least two reasons. First, and perhaps most obviously, rap draws on older African and African-American stylistic and aesthetic sensibilities. In rap music and its accompanying dance forms we find the call and response of southern black preachers and their congregations, the rhythmic syncopation of early jazz and jubilee vocal quartets, the complex improvisations of jazz scat singers, the boastful rhymes of street "toasts" and "playing the dozens," and the competitive spirit of ring play and challenge dancing. Secondly, as this inquiry will explore, rap music developed and continues to flourish within a community-based Afro-American youth culture.

Rap music is, first and foremost, black urban dance-party music. The very name, "rap" music, suggests an emphasis on verbalization, but it is much more than its words. As it developed in the context of parties where dancing to records was the primary social concern, black adolescents pushed the activity of playing records beyond previously imagined boundaries. Rap music is a rhythmic pastiche composed by a master DJ (musician) and a virtuoso rhyming MC (rapper or rap group). DJs combine and juxtapose bits and pieces of records creating a beat to which MCs set their spoken rhymes.

The performers' primary concern is to establish a lively relationship with the audience — to "keep their hands clappin', fingers snappin', feet tappin'." In doing so, they demonstrate the structural pattern of call-and-response which is integral to successful rap performances. Yet, as R.F.

Thompson asserts in his performance approach to African art, these elements constitute more than matters of structure, they "are in actuality levels of perfected social interaction" (Thompson 1974: 28). For example, the highest aesthetic achievement in rap music is to "rock the house," meaning the performers engage the active support of those on the dance floor through their participation, thereby extending the boundary of performance to include both the leader and followers in concert. The central context referred to in rap lyrics is the ubiquitous "party." MCs comment on it, and in turn, talk about their obligation to it. Rhymes often boast of an MC's ability to control the party, thereby validating his or her own claim to fame. A typical line is: "Now I'm the best rapper in the U.S.A. 'cause I can rock this party seven different ways" (Blackstar 1984). But an MC's success is not insured by self-acclaim alone; recognition comes with the direct response from the dance floor. Slu, a young MC from the South Bronx, said:

> Emceeing at a party, your main thing is to just get them to jumping and having fun or whatever. So you might go to a party, nobody knows who you are, but you get on the mike anyway, and you want them to know who you are. You want them moving while you're moving on the mike . . . That's mainly what you'd be doing at a party (Slu 1986).

Rap parties provide vital performance contexts where young black artists have created a unique expressive form.

Rap music originated and is ideally performed at parties. It follows then that it is best examined at this local community level. In the 1970s, when popular dance music was dominated by disco, and clubs such as Studio 54 were catering to a mature clientele, resourceful black youths uptown in Harlem and the South Bronx were creating their own dance scene at home in their neighborhood parks and gymnasiums. Their home-grown DJ dance music began to include competitive bouts of verbal dueling, where rappers took turns boasting about themselves and insulting their opponents while trying to win the admiration of the crowd:

> Now battling MC's is getting me bored,
> My rhyme and your rhyme just to settle the score,
> I begin to laugh before you even speak,
> Your words are inadequate to say the least.
> (Lord Jamar, 1986)

Such recitation, chanted over pre-recorded music, eventually evolved into what is now referred to as rap music.

Hip-Hop, Subway Graffiti, and "Breaking"

Although rap music is part of a black American musical tradition of antiphonal "call-and-response" and polyrhythm patterns, it is also part of what has been classified as Hip Hop, a competitive artistic youth subculture involving mostly African-Americans and Hispanics.[1] Hip Hop was a lively tradition in the late 1970s and early 1980s encompassing three powerful expressive styles that grew out of the urban experience. In addition to Hip Hop's rap music, there was a bold and colorful style of graffiti, and an athletic virtuoso dance called "breaking." Each of these genres is a separate phenomenon with its own history and legendary heroes. (See George, Banes, Flinker, & Romanowski 1985; Toop 1984; and Castleman 1984 for comprehensive histories of Hip Hop traditions.) They were pulled together under one rubric because they grew out of similar artistic and social impulses. Throughout Hip Hop tradition was the spirit of upholding the honor of one's name through competitive performances. Characteristic of all three genres was the artists' urge to establish strong personal and group identities by playfully recasting popular culture images, such as cartoon characters and advertising jingles, for their own creative purposes.

The most controversial element of Hip Hop was graffiti. Regardless of how much it was appreciated by some, New York City's Mayor Ed Koch considered it vandalism and launched a full fledged war against the "writers." (See Castleman 1984 for an extensive chronological list of articles covering New York City's "war on graffiti.") As urban youths struggled for personal recognition, the graffiti writers who had previously used simple black Magic Marker, developed a rich and elaborate artistic style of spray painting whole subway cars, and sometimes entire trains, with cartoon-inspired images and imaginative lettering so complex that those outside the culture could not read it. The artistic impulse was a combination of "getting up" (getting your name up on the trains and walls) and "going all-city" (having your name appear on all subway lines and in every borough). Hip Hop graffiti writers were motivated by the urban street tradition of marking and maintaining one's turf. But this particular graffiti style also developed in a spirit of creativity and artistic perfection.

While groups of teenage males were painting the town, "getting up" their emblems of identity, other "crews" as they liked to call themselves, were "getting down," some of them literally getting down on the ground, spinning, gyrating and contorting their bodies to the blaring sounds of cassette tapes blasting out of oversized portable tape players. Reminiscent of street corner tap dancers in the early decades of the 20th century, the late 1970s break dancers took turns challenging each other to "top" their latest moves. The fact that this fast paced acrobatic style of dancing resembled fighting was no accident. As the boys took turns showing off and making a name for themselves and their crews, the intensity sometimes escalated into actual fights. African-American and Hispanic youths were somewhat equally matched in break dance and graffiti "style wars" but the former dominated the style of the music.

The Development of Rap Music at "Dollar Parties" in Harlem

Today, as rap music performers move solidly into the mainstream recording industry, references to parties remain as one of the central images. "You can't re-create it on records," recording artist Ice-T (1983) said, "the only thing to do is you just have to experience the club." The extent to which the performers actually participate in such community-based enterprises is not immediately apparent, as rap recordings, concerts, films and television appearances serve to separate the artists from the direct relationship with their audiences. And yet, community-based dance parties continue to flourish. In such settings, rap music presents an excellent case for exploring some vital connections between mass and vernacular culture.

During Spring 1986, my colleague Philemon Wakashe and I met Crash Crew's DJ "Darryl-Cee" Calloway, who invited us to attend a party at the Y.M.C.A. on West 135th Street in Harlem. Calloway's invitation opened up a dimension of rap music that we had not anticipated — the party as rap music's "natural" crossroads of vernacular and commercial concerns. This environment provided an opportunity to observe the regular interplay of distinct, but interdependent aesthetic economies of rap music and the unity between context and performance. Known locally as "dollar parties," they are the adolescent version of a long-standing African-American tradition of creating alternative entertainment spots (such as juke joints) — a trend sustained by a variety of adverse social and economic conditions and aesthetic preferences not usually met by major commercial producers.

The first "dollar party" Calloway invited us to attend was one of a long succession of events produced by his associates, known to us only by their first names, Mike and Dave. They have been involved in presenting rap music since the mid-1970s when they teamed up with neighborhood DJs who were already producing ad hoc street parties in a small park behind the Lincoln Houses, a project on East 135th Street. Unfortunately, artists were sometimes exploited by enterprising local drug dealers. Interested in drawing crowds of potential customers, they paid DJs a nominal fee to set up in their territories. Drug business goes hand and hand with violent competition for territory which runs counter to the Hip Hop culture's creative impulse and artistic competitiveness. Mike and Dave carried the creative momentum of Lincoln Houses Hip Hop parties indoors, away from the business of drugs and the danger of street violence, and into the realm of semi-commercial community entertainment. In addition to their modest fees, DJs also made money by selling cassette recordings of their unique performances. Unlike graffiti and breaking, rap music has always been produced in a context of entertainment for money, albeit a subculture economy. At that time, the sounds they produced were unlike anything sold in stores. And as was the case with graffiti artists and breakers, a competitive spirit drove talented DJs to try to achieve artistic heights with only the simplest means.

The skilled Hip Hop DJ makes "improvements" on commercial recordings by "mixing," "cutting," "scratching," and "backspinning."

For Hip Hop DJs the primary musical instruments are the "wheels of steel," record turntables that quick-witted stylists manipulate with such savvy, precision and power-packed speed that they challenge listeners to detect what is actually being played.[2] Rather than playing a record from beginning to end, Hip Hop DJs "mix," "cut," "scratch," and "backspin" small parts of records by working two or more turntables alternately, or simultaneously. Such techniques transform the original works to create new rhythmic and lyrical compositions. "Mixing" records is done by fading one record into, or out of, another with the use of volume control or an inexpensive machine called a mixer. "Cutting" is accomplished by lifting the tone arm of the turntable and repeatedly placing the stylus precisely in a specific groove to repeat syllables or beats which will interact with the music from the other turntable as it is converted through the mixer. One cut is often repeated numerous times creating a sound similar to that of a skipping record. The difference is that in rap music, DJs control the selections, creating rhythmic and textual nuances unintended by the original recording artists. Beats are also produced by "scratching" records. Rhythmic scratching is done by moving the platen and record back and forth under the needle. In contrast to scratching, "backspinning" requires extremely light hands and extraordinary knowledge of the record and equipment. To backspin a record the DJ delicately rotates the record back (as short as one rotation or less) and as he releases the cut to be amplified through the system he quickly backspins a record on another turntable. By the time the cut is played on one turntable he is ready to repeat the previous cut — moving back and forth alternating his attention between the two without modulating the output between them on his mixer. Backspins as short as one rotation take incredible skill, as DJs rival each other to demonstrate their speed and dexterity at working the "wheels of steel." Utilizing small computers that simulate drumming, DJs expanded their repertoire by adding original rhythmic patterns they preset on the machine. The DJs work is referred to as "improvements" on the original commercial recordings. They admire each others' compositions for their complexity and smooth transitions. A Hip Hop DJ is not an invisible person in a remote sound booth who anonymously changes records. On the contrary, he places himself in the foreground because he considers himself a musician.

Fliers from Mike and Dave's parties.

Live Hip Hop DJ music is not well-suited for the street corner venue in which it initially developed: equipment and record collections are bulky and performances require electricity. The ultimate in portability, however, is the "human beat box," an extraordinary technique whereby artists create a rhythm improvising on variations of the body's resonating possibilities.[3] The Human Beat Box (Darren Robinson of the Fat Boys) "earned his name because he uses an unusual repertoire of bumps, gurgles, grunts and backward breathing to replace the percussive equipment he (originally) could not afford" (Mandel 1986: 6). As a rule, human beat box performers synthesize hambone routines (polymetric clapping, slapping, and pounding the body) and vocal techniques whereby the artist employs articulate breath control combined with lip smacking, popping, and tongue clicking to emulate electronic music. The human beat box is not without precedent; body percussion is a long-standing African-American musical technique, while the mimicry of musical instruments with the human voice dates back at least as far as the jubilee/jazz quartets of the 1920s and '30s.

The "human beat box" is an extraordinary African-American innovation.

To really rock a party requires a DJ. The fundamental problem of finding an electrical outlet to power these unofficial parties in playgrounds and parks was solved by paying a neighbor ten or fifteen dollars to run an extension cord from an apartment window, or more often, resourceful DJs would illegally tap into a nearby city light pole. It was not long before local entrepreneurs Mike and Dave recognized the economic potential of these events and opened up their own Hip Hop "dollar parties." The favored locations were, and still are, gymnasiums at Intermediate School 201, St. Mark's School, and the Y.M.C.A., all within a few blocks of each other. Since the beginning, Mike and Dave's events have been advertised only by word of mouth and by fliers distributed at the close of the previous event, and also to teens attending area schools. The flier tells them everything they need to know. Its bold graphic style, patterned on Hip Hop graffiti, says instantly what kind of an event to expect.

As advertised, there are always at least two well-known DJs hired for the duration of the evening. The regulars have included recording artists "Darryl-Cee" Calloway of Crash Crew and DJ Barry-Bee of The Get Fresh Crew. Other local performers who experience some success as recording artists are DJ Grandmaster Flash of The Furious Five, Kool Moe-Dee, Grand Wizard Theodore, and Ronnie-Gee. In a recent television interview, Kool Moe-Dee (1988) said, "The way it works is, it's got to be hot in the streets first, then you force radio on it." By playing local parties artists can introduce new material and stay in contact with what their audiences like.

D.J. Darryl-Cee at Dave & Mike's party, 1986. Photo: Madeline Slovenz.

D.J. Barry-Bee at Dave & Mike's party, 1986. Photo: Madeline Slovenz.

At informal parties there is no limit to subject matter for rap lyrics, but one theme that has remained constant, even in popular recordings, is the party motif. Some early rap records, Sugar Hill Gang's "8th Wonder" (Sugar Hill Records 1980) and Starski's "Starski Live at Disco Fever" (Fever Records 1983), attempted to simulate the interactive nature of these events where MCs work their audience to respond to their lines. As black traditional preachers ask their congregations for an "Amen," Hip Hop MCs appeal to the dancers, to "Give me a HO!" The teens on the dance floor respond in kind with a loud, sustained, "HO-O-O-O-O-O-O-O-O!!!!!," chanted as they throw their heads back in thorough enjoyment while they continue dancing, never missing a beat. KISS FM's radio DJ "Red Alert" playfully taunted the crowd one night at the "Y" when he chanted a well-known phrase, the title of Cut-Master-D.C.'s, "Brooklyn's in the House" (Zakia Records 1985). Undaunted, the Harlem crowd answered with, "No, Uptown, Uptown!" Although Harlem's neighborhoods are split into rival gang territories, all are temporarily united on the dance-floor by their shared animosity toward their Brooklyn counterparts. Today's record producers do not care about simulating parties, but rap lyrics continue to stress the significance of parties where rap music is still created live and enjoyed in the spirit of interactive dynamics.

MCs also perform long rhymed narratives, working their fast, power-packed lines within and against the DJ's patterns adding to an already complex assortment of rhythms. Sometimes working in a group (formerly called "crew," now "posse"), MCs create raps in which they finish each others' lines, chime in and underscore one another, or simulate a conversation. The work has an improvisational quality, but few MCs create substantial new material while they are performing. (See Abrahams 1970, 1970a; Davis 1985; Smitherman 1977 on black oral traditions.) Most MCs work out their rhymes on paper. Some use a dictionary and thesaurus to expand their repertoire, hopefully impressing their audience and their competition with their extensive vocabulary.

> My name is Jamar, I'm the lord of lords
> And I know you'd pay dearly for my vocal cords
> My inferno of rhymes burn a sucker to the center
> They steadily advance while your rhymes hinder
> Technologically sound
> My words are profound (Lord Jamar 1986)

There are no rules about rhyme scheme or line length, although most raps are composed of rhyming couplets. Complex language and rhythm patterns are important criteria in community evaluation, but above all, performance style is most important. "Like L. L. [Cool J], his thing is like something coming out there strong. More or less like Martin Luther King will come out there and just project himself" (Slu 1986). It is no accident

that Slu uses "strong" to characterize good black performance, as it is an aesthetic principle universally admired in African and African-American art and performance (Thompson 1974: 5-10). Strong connotes beauty alive with youth, firmness, vitality, and power. The strength of performance is confirmed on the dance floor.

At "dollar parties" the dominant activity is social dancing. The DJs' and MCs' ability to effectively interact with the people on the dance floor sets the tone and mood for the event. In 1986, the general pattern at Mike and Dave's dollar parties was that males danced with males and females danced with females. The dancing, true to all Hip Hop traditions, was in the form of challenge. Many small circles formed on the floor as the observers — all potential performers themselves — watched and cheered the techniques of the two dancers "going for it" in the center of each circle.

> CURRY: It's like ring play where I grew up in the Bahamas. In other words, someone gets in a circle, there's music, the kids are clapping (snaps his fingers) and someone is in the ring . . .
>
> CALLOWAY: (Chimes in) I did that when I was small, in kindergarten . . .
>
> CURRY: (While still snapping his fingers) And, you know, that's the same kind of feel of what it is at the "Y" when someone gets in and dances. (Calloway & Curry 1986)

Recent Changes

In 1986 I observed dancers exchanged gestures of challenge which increased in difficulty and intensity as the dancing proceeded yet the mood remained congenial.[4] Overt sexual motifs, emblems of "one-upmanship" and contest once at the heart of Hip Hop dance styles, have been transformed. Today, patrons of Mike and Dave's parties favor couple dancing. Dancers have modified the overt sexual gestures formerly used to taunt a competitor and use them to advance their status in courtship relationships.

The music, too, is in a state of transformation. Before rap music's wide commercial distribution, DJs were the attraction. Early records (12-inch singles) reserved the B-side to record the "instrumental" track inviting consumers to re-mix the record at home, or to compose new raps to the DJ's rhythms. As recording studio technologies did not require a DJ, per se, the focus shifted away from the DJ and toward the MC, making the "rapper" the featured artist. As rap music became a viable commercial commodity performance modes shifted. For example, the element of contest — once performed before live witnesses who evaluated an MCs success on the spot — was now mediated by record producers who exploited this tradition for their own purposes. The plethora of "answer records" attests to this.[5]

Since dollar parties are precariously balanced between commercial and

vernacular concerns, the recent success of rap music recordings has effected the aesthetic economy of the party context in which it was generated. Kids on the dance-floor used to crowd around the DJ table trying to learn the master's techniques. But their aspirations have shifted as they rap along with the records they listen to at home and memorize. Commodification has created its own sense of wholeness, and audiences now demand DJs play some records from beginning to end without cutting and scratching. But there are changes in performances at Mike and Dave's dollar parties that may indicate a reassertion of the importance of the party DJ, whose artistic potential has been suppressed in the recordings. The latest development in live performance is a new method "Darryl-Cee" calls "throw-ins." A "throw-in" is a technique where the DJ and MC work together, each in their distinct medium, to complete each others lines.

> I have one that's a favorite with the kids, I always use this one with the kids, I would never use this at a regular club. But the kids like stuff that's disgusting. You know Biz-Markie's "Pickin Boogers" (Prism Records 1987)? My MC would say, "We saw that girl over there and she was . . ." Then I come in at just the right time with the cut from the record where Biz-Markie says, "Pickin' boogers" and I'll cut it in over and over again: "Pickin' boogers, pickin' boogers." They go crazy over that one. (Calloway 1988)

"Throw-ins" call atention to the collaboration between DJ and MC in a way that is difficult to translate to records because it depends on the live context for its enjoyment.

The study of dollar parties in Harlem locates rap music in a community context where its transformations are readily examined within a short temporal frame. Throughout New York's black neighborhoods there are other parties like Mike and Dave's. In fact, this phenomenon is not limited to New York. A recent *Village Voice* article reports that in response to the mass marketing of rap on radio and record, local rap scenes are nurturing regional variations throughout the United States (George 1988: 32-33). For example, similar community-based rap parties, with a Pacific Northwest flavor, have been documented in Eugene, Oregon (Slovenz 1985). Whether they are called dollar parties, flier parties, or rent parties, these events provide vital performance contexts where young black artists, reappropriating and improvising with the products of mass culture, have created a unique expressive form at the crossroads of commercial and vernacular production.

NOTES

I am greatly indebted to the rap music artists who assisted my research by graciously including me and my colleague Philemon Wakashe in their lively parties and interview sessions.

1. "At first it wasn't really called anything. Hip Hop. They just took that name from DJ Hollywood who used to be a DJ/MC at the Apollo. He would say, 'Hip, hop, da hip da hop, da hip hop, hip da hop' like that kind of thing" (Calloway 1988).
2. To prevent others from "biting" (stealing) their beats, DJs take great care to disguise their record labels by steaming them off or blacking them out.
3. The Original Human Beat Box, Get Fresh Crew's Doug E. Fresh and the Fat Boys have popularized this technique with their recordings. See "Suggested Listening."
4. While I was standing on the sidelines, near the DJ table, a young boy danced up close to me and a small group of kids formed a circle around us. His movements beckoned me to compete with him. I felt he was trying to embarrass me but I was willing to play along. Each move he made I tried to repeat and add a taunting gesture. This continued until his moves were more overtly sexual, at which point I laughed, and stepped out of the circle acknowledging defeat. Those who formed the circle laughed along with me; it was fun, truly performed in a hospitable spirit. Later, when I spoke with some of the girls who formed the circle, they said that they thought I might have been an agent or a producer and they wanted me to notice them. At that time, breakers were still getting commercial work.
5. Answer records are a commercial phenomenon in the rap music business whereby recording artists battle each other through records. One artist responds to the other in much the same spirit that they would on stage. Although these have been a popular adaptation of rap battles, big name rappers are pulling out of the competition. They feel that the young rappers coming up are using answer records to hitch a free ride on the coat tails of the stars. Without paying their dues at neighborhood parties and small clubs, unknowns are getting on the radio by posing challenges to the big names in rap. However, if someone like L.L. Cool J answers an unknown artist, the battle is on with both artists selling records. For a discusion of one series of answer records, see Jones 1988: 34-37.

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Anglo-American Folksong Collecting and Singing Traditions in Rural New York State

VAUGHN WARD

The eastern and southern sections of upstate New York were settled during the 17th and 18th centuries primarily by British Isles immigrants and Anglo-Americans from New England who came to New York seeking land and opportunity. Once here, they intermarried with descendants of Dutch, Scots-Irish, German and later Irish immigrants to form a population with a similar ethnic and cultural background to that found throughout the Appalachian mountain chain. Among the cultural treasures brought and preserved by these early New Yorkers and their descendants was a rich tradition of songs and ballads.

Ballads are folk songs differentiated from lyric songs by their story-telling function. Anglo-American ballads are usually related from a third-person point of view; the narrative frequently begins in the middle of the tale and moves swiftly to a dramatic conclusion. The Anglo-American ballad is related to a much wider pan-European ballad tradition of great antiquity, but documentation before the late Middle Ages remains sketchy. Other ballads were developed more recently, either in the British Isles or in North America. Examples of older ballads (e.g. "Sir John Randall," or "Gypsy Davy"), as well as newer ballads composed in North America (e.g. "Jam at Gerry's Rock" or "Jack Haggerty"), have been collected in New York and many continue to be sung today. Ballads, like other forms of folk music, are written by individuals, but the composers' identities are usually quickly forgotten as their songs are adopted and reshaped by other members of their communities.

Ballads attracted the attention of scholars as early as the Renaissance, and during the 18th and 19th centuries, a concerted effort was made by individuals to collect and document them. In the United States, a young Boston-born Harvard professor named Francis James Child (1825-1896) undertook a life-long project to document and catalogue all known Anglo-Celtic ballads. In his landmark publication, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882), Child presents numerous versions or "variants" of 305 ballads.[1] Child's work was based exclusively on written texts rather than on his own field collecting. He culled texts both from earlier manuscript

collections and from his voluminous correspondence with British and American scholars. A number of Child's correspondents sent him materials collected in New York State: including W.W. Newell, a folklorist best known for his studies of American children's games, and Dr. Huntington, Methodist Bishop of Central New York, and various amateur collectors throughout the state (see, for example, Child 1882, IV: 72, #200K). It should be noted that Child was more interested in ballads as texts than as living folklore; he rarely included the tunes to which they were sung, nor did he discuss performers or performance practices.. This precedent was followed by other American collectors in the early 20th century, who followed Child's lead in their concern with the study of ballad *texts:* including Henry M. Belden in Missouri, Louise Pound in Nebraska, W. Roy MacKenzie in Nova Scotia, and Frank C. Brown in North Carolina.[2] But it was the field collections of English scholars Cecil Sharp and Maude Karpeles in small Anglo-American communities in the southern Appalachians during 1916-1918 that captured the public's attention.[3] Although many of the same Child and broadside ballads they recorded in the southern mountains could also be found throughout the Northeast and Middle West, their field work led members of the public to mistakenly associate balladry traditions only with the southern Appalachian region.

Early field work led to the notion that balladry was uniquely southern Appalachian. The rich traditions of New York State were neglected.

In addition to "Child ballads," *broadside ballads* were also popular in New York State. This term is used to describe composed narrative ballads that flourished in 17th and 18th century Britain and later in America. Often written by songwriters of varying talents, and set to well-known tunes, these versifications of local and national news were printed on single sheets of paper (i.e. broadsides) and sold to the public for a nominal fee. They tended towards the sensational — replete with accounts of murders, outlaws, battles and tragedies, often rendered in doggerel. Because of their relatively recent origin and their evolution from a single printed source, broadside ballads texts have remained fairly stable compared with those of the Child ballads.[4] Important scholarly work on American broadside ballads was done by Tristam P. Coffin in *The British Traditional Ballad in North America* (1950), and G. Malcolm Laws in *Native American Balladry* (1950) and *American Balladry from British Broadsides* (1957).[5]

In addition to Child and broadside ballads, non-narrative or "lyric" songs were also popular in Anglo-American communities. Still later, comic songs, patriotic songs, vaudeville and theatre songs, and sentimental "heart" songs entered the repertoire of traditional singers.

New York State Collections

That old saying that folklore occurs primarily where folklorists spend their spare time is applicable to a discussion of New York State's traditional ballads. Although some fine early collections of New York materials were undertaken, the publication of Empire State materials, especially prior to the 1970s, was sparse enough to support Simon Bronner's (1977) assertions that the State "has not received the folk cultural appreciation reserved for New England [and] . . . remains inadequately represented in folklore collections."

The first New York State ballad collections were private songsters, personal collections of song texts written down by one person or a succession of people within one family. Five such manuscript collections from New York State have been published: *A Pioneer Songster* (Cutting 1952), containing texts compiled between 1841 and 1856 by the Stevens-Douglass family in Wyoming County; *The Civil War Songster of a Monroe County Farmer,* (Gravelle 1971), compiled by James Polk Edmunds between 1863 and 1865; *A Schoharie County Songster* (McNeil 1969), based on a small chapbook kept by Ida Finkell of Argusville from 1879-1883; *A Delanson Manuscript of Songs,* (Oster 1952), found in a Delanson antique shop; and *The Curtis Collection of Songs* (Thompson 1953), which includes both traditional and popular material from after the Civil War. These collections provide a look at the repertoire sung by traditional musicians in rural New York before 1900, and offer a clue to the songs popular with the parents and grandparents of today's older traditional singers.

While Cecil Sharp and Maude Karpeles were gleaning songs from the Appalachians, Emelyn Elizabeth Gardner was beginning one of the earliest studies of New York State's traditions. *Folklore from the Schoharie Hills* (1937), based on field work she conducted between 1912 and 1914, contains the music and texts to twenty-nine songs, including Child and broadside ballads, lullabies and children's songs.

Thirty years later, Harold Thompson's students from Albany Teachers' College collected ballads and verbal lore from their families and neighbors. Thompson's book, *Body, Boots and Britches* (1940), which contains a large number of ballads and songs, was based on his students' field research, and is still the best known collection of New York folklore.

In 1944, Edith Cutting, one of Thompson's star pupils, published *Lore of an Adirondack County,* a collection of material from her native Essex County which included twenty-one Anglo-American ballads and five local songs. During the following decades, Cutting was a regular contributor to *New York Folklore Quarterly* — the ancestor of the present journal — and her collected materials as well as her exceptional documentation of the contexts in which traditional music was performed and their function in rural communities, make her work particularly significant. Two of Cutting's song collections were published in *New York Folklore Quarterly:* "Peter Parrott and His Songs," (1947), which documents the repertoire of a Franco-American

Lawrence Older (1912-1982) was an important woods singer, raconteur, and fiddler. He was descended from eighteenth century English immigrants to northern Saratoga County. His repertoire includes a number of Child ballads and many American ballads catalogued by Laws. Older was recorded by Folk Legacy Records. He appeared, as did Sara Cleveland, at the National Folklife Festival and at the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife. Photo courtesy of George and Vaughn Ward.

singer from Redford, Clinton County; and "Farmers' Songs," a section in her important special edition on "New York State Farm Lore" (1951).

From 1941 to 1970, Marjorie Lansing Porter assiduously collected folklore in the central and southern Adirondack Mountains. She was especially interested in ballad singers. Cassette recordings of her original soundscriber discs are available for study at The Porter Collection of Adirondack Folklore in the Special Collections, Feinburg Library of SUNY/Plattsburg.[6] Although Porter's notable collection sadly remains unpublished, her informants sang for other collectors whose works are more easily available: Lily Stokes Delorme sang for folklorist Helen Hartness Flanders; "Yankee" John Galusha for Anne and Frank Warner; and Lawrence Older for Sandy Paton. While most other collectors concentrated on the most active, or the most outgoing, singers within a family, Porter was unique for her time in her attempt to record *all* the singers within a single family. This allowed her to make hypotheses about family repertoire and about the aesthetic choices of individual singers. (See Porter 1953.)

The 1950s and '60s produced a number of collector/performers who were interested in recording and presenting material from what was increasingly a declining tradition. Their work has often served to renew interest in traditional Anglo-American songs within rural communities. For example, folklorist Ellen Steckert collected from and performed with singers from Catskill lumber camps; George Ward collected and presented the

ballads, songs and tales of Adirondack communities; Pete Seeger worked with and presented local songmakers from the Catskills and the Adirondacks; Margaret MacArthur collected and performed songs from families who were involved in Helen Hartness Flanders' earlier research; Kenneth Goldstein documented the repertoire of traditional singer Sara Cleveland and issued well-annotated recordings of her performances.

In recent years, an increasing amount of research has been done on New York's traditional music. In the 1970s, Robert Bethke collected songs and stories of St. Lawrence County woodsmen. Published as *Adirondack Voices: Woodsmen and Woods Lore* (1981), the work contains a wealth of anecdotal, biographical and contextual materials relating to the area's traditional singers and their songs. Bethke's publication includes the texts and music for twenty-four ballads.

Two "lifework collections" were published in the 1980s. The first of these, Cazden, Haufrecht & Studer's *Folk Songs of the Catskills* (1982) includes 178 traditional ballads and songs collected between 1941 and 1962 under the auspices of Camp Woodland. Of these, 9 are local variants of Child ballads, 37 are Laws variants, and most of the rest can be traced to Irish or turn-of-the-century popular sources. A few, however, are locally produced and commemorate local events and characters, including not a few skirmishes with the law. This richly annotated collection is the only work on New York State songs that contains a good comparative study of tune formation.

A second recent retrospective, Anne Warner's *Traditional American Folk Songs from the Frank and Anne Warner Collection* (1984), makes available some important New York State examples collected over the space of forty years by the author and her husband. Following a method established by Bethke in *Adirondack Voices*, the collection is organized by artist rather than by song content or country of origin. The Warners worked extensively with traditional singer "Yankee" John Galusha (1859-1950) of Minerva and collected material from Steve Wadsworth (b. 1895) of Edinburg. The book includes careful musical transcriptions by Jerome Epstein. Entries are meticulously cross-referenced to other published and recorded materials.

Traditional Singers and Repertories

The number of traditional Anglo-American singers is unfortunately diminishing in rural upstate New York, but a number of prominent exponents of the genre were active until quite recently. For example, Sara Cleveland, a native of Washington County who died in 1987, could sing several hundred songs she had learned from her mother, including a number of rare variants of Child and Laws ballads and some unusually complete versions of British broadside ballads.[7] Other traditional singers recorded and documented during the 1970s and '80s included Grant Rogers, a Catskill songmaker; Lawrence Older (d. 1982) from Saratoga County; St. Lawrence County woodsmen Ted and Eddie Ashlaw; and Otsego Coun-

Sara Creedon Cleveland (1905-1987) carried more than four hundred songs, many of which were brought by her Scots-Irish and Irish ancestors to Hartford, Washington County. She sang her mother's songs at home until — in her fifties — she came to the attention of Kenneth Goldstein and Sandy Paton, who recorded most of her extensive repertoire. Mrs. Cleveland's variants of ancient ballads were usually complete. Several important local ballads — especially local accounts of Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 — were in her repertoire. She was known among other singers for her performance of the complete, 72-verse "Ballad of Lake Chaplain." Although she was blinded in an auto accident in 1973, Mrs. Cleveland continued to perform until her eighties year. Photo, c. 1968, by Sandy Paton.

ty's Ken Kane. Today, St. Lawrence County's Bill Smith is one of the few traditional singers actively performing the Anglo-American vocal repertoire. Given the richness of these few performers, one wonders what Cecil Sharp might have found had he come to upstate New York before the tradition of ballad singing began to wane during the years following the Second World War.

Based on 19th-century song collections, it seems likely that at one time more than half of the songs and ballads sung by the "folk" in New York were imported from the British Isles or evolved from 19th-century American popular songs. This corresponds to Gardner's earlier findings: British Isles and American popular songs made up a bit more than half of those she collected between 1912 and 1914. Forty years later, when the songs of "Yankee" John Galusha were documented by the Warners and Mrs. Porter, slightly more than ten percent of the songs were of British Isles origin, while nearly two-thirds were of North American and pre-1900 minstrel show provenance.[8] During the 1970s and '80s, research by other New York State collectors, including George Ward, Robert Bethke, and myself, has found similar results.

Many New York State songs are neither from British nor popular music origins; they are local songs set to local tunes.

Many New York State songs are neither from British Isles nor popular music origins; rather, they are local songs created along traditional models and nearly always set to tunes in local circulation. Although these songs were not usually printed and sold as broadside ballads, they may be seen as an extension of the broadside tradition of topical songmaking.[9] Local ballads in New York follow the pattern described by folklorist Edward D. Ives. They are, he writes, "ballads and sentimental pieces [based] on the imported models . . . [and] are part of the cultural landscape wherever traditional songs are sung" (Ives 1983: 208). For example, "The Ballad of Blue Mountain Lake" or "Bert LaFountain's Packard" (which a bootlegger from the town of Gabriel's is reported to have sung during Sunday morning sessions at his speakeasy), remain popular because they contain local names and references.

Any study of material collected after 1930 must take into account the influence of records, radio and early locally-produced television. In the 1930s, radio stations in upstate New York began to broadcast programs featuring national touring artists such as Bradley Kincaid and Vernon Dalhart. Both these artists collected songs from traditional musicians, sang them on their programs, and distributed them in songbooks to promote their shows, often claiming copyrights for their own. An example is Bradley Kincaid's "Favorite Mountain Ballads and Old Time Songs" (New York: Southern Music Pub., 1938). Although Kincaid claimed a southern origin for many of his songs, he had a summer home near Stafford's Bridge in upstate New York. Traditional singer Dick Richards tells of visiting Kincaid when he was twelve or thirteen and "He'd [Kincaid] give me a chicken for every song I could sing for him that he didn't already know . . . I always went home with a couple of chickens swinging from the handle bars of my bicycle."[10] During the 1940s and early 1950s, when traditional artists such as Richards, the Blodgett family band, and Jimmy Hamblin, appeared regularly on local radio programs, it became increasingly difficult to sort out regional traditions from more general rural influences being aired by the media. It is interesting to speculate how many southern and western songs played over early airwaves merely overlaid or redistributed material already traditional in the northeast.

The movement from home or neighborhood gatherings to public performance as well as the influence of radio and popular records, has encouraged a compression of the texts and stories of older ballads. Very long narratives, which were the test of skill for the previous generation, are

[Left to Right] Mike Spence, West Hebron; Jim Cleveland, Brant Lake; and Colleen Cleveland Thompson, Brant Lake. Mike Spence and Jime Cleveland both learned their songs from their mothers. Spence's mother and Cleveland's grandmother both grew up in an Irish settlement near Hartford in Washington County. Mike Spence sings several ballads catalogued by Laws and Child, and a large number of turn-of-the-century vaudeville and minstrel show songs. He is a veteran of the local grange minstrel show circuit, which was a venue for the performance of traditional songs through the 1950's. Jim Cleveland and his daughter, Colleen Thompson, are heirs to the Cleveland family repertoire and singing style. They are performing here in the "Songs My Mother/Father Taught Me" workshop at the Folk Arts Festival at the Washington County Fair, 1988. Photo by Matt Kelly.

usually performed today in considerably shortened versions. Although Child and Laws ballads are performed much less frequently than they once were, they have been replaced largely by 20th century country songs, which like their predecessors are narratives. The sentimental themes and values expressed by these more modern compositions can also be seen as a possible extension of the earlier Anglo-American values embodied in older songs and ballads.

Singer Lawrence Older remarked to me on a number of occasions that the woodsmen he knew sang and listened to ballads with their eyes closed, and that the song sessions were a private time when tough, scrappy men allowed their emotions a release. The ballad, wrote Willa Muir (1965: 197) "made a culture for ordinary rural people . . . exercising in this way a basic human gift of imagination which gave them much satisfaction and

fun." Sharing family songs, some of which are variants of ballads brought by early Anglo-American immigrants, allows the descendants of New York's earliest rural settlers this same satisfaction.

Al and Kathy Bain, West Hebron, are area country music stars. Al is descended from the original Scots-Irish settlers of West Hebron, Kathy from the pre-Revolutionary settlers of West Fort Ann. The Bains have been awarded an apprenticeship from the New York State Council on the Arts, Folk Arts Program, to learn the song repertoire of Clarence "Daddy Dick" Richards of Corinth. Richards, who is probably the most important living source of regional song traditions, learned his music from both of his parents and from loggers working on the Sacandaga Reservoir. Monthly meetings of organizations such as the Al Bain Fan Club are the present-day context for the sharing of family songs. Photo by Matt Kelly, 1987.

NOTES

1. Drawing on a plan developed by Svend Grundvig in *Old Popular Ballads of Denmark* (1853), Child arranged ballads by their stories or "tale types," and then assigned each ballad story a number. This was done since it is more common than not for a ballad to exist in numerous "variants," some more complete than others, but often bearing widely different texts and titles and sung to completely different tunes than the other variants of the same ballad. Today, scholars working with Anglo-American ballads frequently use Child's cataloging numbers when referring to a ballad — for example, the well known ballad "Gypsy Laddie" would simply be referred to as "Child #200."
2. See Henry M. Belden, *Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society*. Columbia, MO.: University of Missouri Studies, XV, 1940; reprinted 1955. Belden, *A Partial List of Song-Ballads and Other Popular Poetry Known in Missouri*. Columbia, MO., 1907. Louise Pound, *Folk-Song of Nebraska and the Central West*. Lincoln, Neb.: Academy of Science Publications, IX, 3, 1914. W. Roy MacKenzie, *Ballads and Sea Songs from Nova Scotia*. Cambridge, MA, 1928. *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*. Newman Ivey White, Paul F. Baum, et. al., ed. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1954. Gavin Greig, *Folk-Song of the Northeast*. 2 vols. Peterhead, 1914. Gavin Greig and Alexander Keith, *Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs*. Aberdeen, 1925; Cecil J. Sharp, *Folk Songs of England*. 5 vols. 1908-1912. Cecil J. Sharp and Rev. Charles L. Marson, *Folk Songs from Somerset*. 5 ser. London and New York, 1904-1909; H.E.D. Hammond, *Folk Songs from Dorset*. London: Novello, 1908. Ralph Vaughan Williams, *Folk Songs from the Eastern Counties*. London: Novello, 1908.
3. See Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (1925). Maude Karpeles ed. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1932.
4. For example, in the 1960s, traditional singer Lawrence Older from Saratoga County recorded a version of the broadside ballad "My Bonny Black Bess" that was almost identical to the 18th century version printed in England, now in the collection of the English Dance and Song Society.
5. The latter author established a classification system similar to Child's that is now used for American ballads. The previously cited "My Bonnie Black Bess," for example, is referred to as #L8.
6. Porter's material on traditional singer "Yankee" John Galusha is in the private collection of Porter's friend and protégée Lee Knight.
7. Examples of Cleveland's singing are found on "Ballads and Songs of the Upper Hudson River Valley: Sara Cleveland of Brant Lake, New York." (Folk Legacy) Notes by Kenneth Goldstein.
8. I am indebted to Simon Bronner and to Anne and Norm Cohen for this system of repertoire classification.
9. For an in-depth discussion, see Ives 1983, Sawyer 1954, Studer 1971, and King 1955.
10. Interview with Dick Richards, April 1988, at the home of Al and Kathy Bain, West Hebron, New York.

ARCHIVES

Much of the material collected on New York balladry and ballad singers remains unpublished. The following archives are particularly rich in Empire State materials:

Archive of Folksong, U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., The Older, Halpert, Warner and Cleveland collections are deposited here, and a bibliography of New York materials is available upon request.

Louis Jones and Harold Thompson Archives of New York State Folklore. (Special Collections) New York State Historical Association Library, Cooperstown, N.Y. Contains field work undertaken by students in Jones' and Thompson's classes. Open by appointment.

New York State Folklife Archive. New York State Historical Association Library, Cooperstown, N.Y. Contains the work of students in the now defunct Cooperstown Graduate Program in American Folklife. Sound recordings of all NYS material deposited in the Library of Congress before 1975 are available here. The Sam Eskin collection also contains some NYS materials. Open by appointment.

New York State Broadside Collection. Library of the State of New York. (Special Collections) Albany, N.Y. Broadside ballads. Archival assistance available by appointment.

Marjorie Lansing Porter Collection of North Country Folklore. State University of New York/Plattsburg, Feinburg Library. (Special Collections) Plattsburg, NY. Cassette tapes of Porter's original Soundscriber discs. Open by application.

Early Ballad Collection. Vassar College Library. (Special Collection) Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

175
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NYFQ — New York Folklore Quarterly
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RECOMMENDED LISTENING

Many fine recordings of New York State materials are available. This listing includes only recordings of traditional singers.

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Haiti Chérie: *Journey of an Immigrant Music in New York City*

LOIS E. WILCKEN

There are 400,000 Haitians in New York City, but as an ethnic group they have managed to maintain a low profile. There are several reasons for this, the first being the singularity of their language, Haitian Creole. A second significant isolating factor has been the twenty-nine years of the repressive Duvalier regime that discouraged many Haitians from making themselves visible, in order to protect loved ones back home. For these reasons, few outside the Haitian community in New York are aware of the culture that the people of Haiti have brought here.

The music of Haiti is one of its most prominent cultural hallmarks. A long period of political and cultural isolation beginning with the slave-led revolution of 1791-1804, and ending with the United States Marine occupation of 1915-1934, favored the continuity of certain African musical traditions. This continuity is most apparent in the music of the *Vodoun* religion, in the bands that parade the streets during the celebrations of Carnival and *RaRa* (an Eastertime event), and in the *Konbit*, a communal work party. While Carnival, *RaRa*, and *Konbit* are not widely practiced in New York, *Vodoun* is, and celebrations for the Vodoun spirits are held in basements and apartments in Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx, and Manhattan. In addition, a new event, the "festival," has emerged as an important form of entertainment for the working Haitian in New York City. The survival and evolution of such events offers an exceptional opportunity to observe the dynamic nature of traditional music practices in new immigrant settings.

Vodoun

In Haiti, Vodoun rites are cast in a variety of forms ranging from private healing sessions to full-scale public dances. The Vodoun dance is of special interest because of the central role music plays in it. The dance is held by a society presided over by a *oungan* (priest) or a *manbo* (priestess), whose chief assistants are the *laplas* (master of ceremonies) and the *ounjenikon* (song specialist), whose core members are *ounsi* (initiated servants). Many of these people may be possessed by the *lwa* (spirits) during a dance, but non-initiated spectators who attend dances in a more passive role may also

receive spirits.

A dance is part of a larger Vodoun event held for multiple purposes: to celebrate the feast day of a lwa; to initiate one or more persons into the society; to raise the status of a member, for example of a laplas to oungan; to marry an individual to one or more lwa; to "feed" the *govi*, urns which hold relics of deceased society members; to mark the yam harvest; to offer thanks to the spirits for their blessings; or to baptize sacred objects, like drums. The event normally begins in the morning with prayers and the sacrifice of an animal. Drumming and song accompany this activity because it helps bring the spirits through possession, and possession is desired because it is best that the animal be sacrificed by a lwa. During the day the sacrificial animal is cooked, and the servants rest in preparation for the last phase of the event, the dance, which is held in the evening and is thought of as a party.

The continuity of Haitian history and culture is most apparent in Vodoun *music.*

Vodounists divide the cosmos into the two worlds of living and dead. This is represented visually in *vèvè* (ritual drawings traced on the ground in cornflour) by a horizontal line which places the dead below it; in song texts by the metaphor of the surface of the sea, beneath which the dead reside; and in the *peristil* (the part of the Vodoun temple reserved for dancing) by the ground or floor, another horizontal plane that places the dead beneath. The lwa are spirits of ancient ancestors who are distinguished on the basis of outstanding character traits and who, over the course of the centuries, have become cultural archetypes (Deren 1984: 28-29). One of the functions of the Vodoun dance is to open a passageway, so to speak, for traffic between the domains of living and dead, so that the living may consult the lwa — in other words, the cultural memory and all its accumulated knowledge. Spirit possession is the chief means of opening this door.

In New York, certain modifications in the ritual are common. Animal sacrifice is illegal, so only small animals are actually sacrificed. In Haiti, a bull is offered to Ogoun, a martial spirit, or a white goat is launched out to sea in a small boat as tribute to the sea spirit, Agwe. Neither are feasible in New York. Instead, when needed, the meat of these animals is purchased from the market.

Most Vodoun dances in New York take place in basements or small apartments. The limited space necessitates the elimination of the *poto mitan* (centerpost), located in the center of the peristil and around which the society members dance. The poto mitan is also considered a conduit through which spirits enter the domain of the living, so to eliminate it is to part

180

with a very important symbolic stucture. One oungan in New York allows his altar to double as the poto mitan. Vodoun dances in New York tend to be shorter than those in Haiti, and they are always held on Saturday nights. The schedules of working class Haitian immigrants influences timing. In Haiti, where most people are either jobless or run their own businesses, the Vodoun timetable is more varied and lengthy.

Perhaps the most striking difference between Vodoun in Haiti and Vodoun in New York is the presence in New York of participants not of Haitian birth or descent. Caribbeans other than Haitians and both black and white Americans are being initiated into Vodoun societies in growing numbers. In one house, special announcements are made in Creole, English, and Spanish. The same house is now considering preparing a song book for its members who were not brought up in the milieu of Vodoun. This would be a radical departure from what has always been an oral tradition, and it may contribute to stabilizing what has, until now, been a flexible corpus of songs, in terms of melody and text. People who are not Haitian are also drumming for Vodoun dances in New York. Their presence is accepted, and sometimes encouraged, by Vodounists. Because their appearance on the scene is fairly recent, it would be premature to say what effect they are having on drumming style.

At a typical Vodoun dance, one enters the basement of a house, as diagrammed in Figure 1. The altar in this house bears a central crucifix, bottles of liquor reserved for the lwa, small dishes of food and candies, cakes, flowers, and candles.

Figure 1.
Floor plan of the peristil *of an* oungan *in New York City.*

181

By nine or ten in the evening, a group of people have assembled, including the society, the musicians, and spectators. The musicians set up their instruments in the space indicated in Figure 1, and other participants take their respective positions. The oungan sits in front of the altar on a small wicker chair. At a sign from him, the ounjenikon begins the *priè* (prayers) that open every Vodoun dance.

The priè are addressed to God and spoken in French. They are a blunt statement of the Christian element in Vodoun. Christian rites entered Vodoun during slavery, when the African rites were forbidden and therefore masked with a veneer of Catholicism. The Vodoun priè are chanted in call-and-response form, alternating between ounjenikon and ounsi (soloist and chorus, respectively), and the musicians accompany with occasional rolls on drums and iron (a struck metal idiophone).

Vodoun musicians use several kinds of drums: a struck metal instrument called an *ogan;* a gourd rattle covered with beads and affixed with a small clappered bell, known as the *ason* and used by oungan and manbo; and a gourd rattle with pellets inside called a *tcha-tcha,* which is also used by oungan and manbo. In Haiti, drums must be constructed a certain way and with certain materials. Because these requirements are often difficult to meet in New York, conga drums are seen more often than Haitian drums. The resultant sound is not the same, but the difference is accepted.

A Vodoun dance is a series of salutations to the lwa of various nations — the word "nations" referring to the many ethnic groups that composed the slave population of colonial Haiti. During the revolutionary period, the slaves thought of themselves as a confederation united to overthrow colonial rule, and in their meetings, they saluted the gods of the member nations in turn. This pattern was adopted in Vodoun. Since the slaves from Dahomey had a strong influence in the formation of Vodoun, their spirits — referred to today as the Rada spirits—came to be saluted first.

During a typical dance, the Rada spirit called Legba is sung to first, because he is the guardian of the crossroads, entranceways, and therefore the point of intersection between the human and spirit worlds. The ounjenikon begins singing, *"Ouvrè bari pou Atibon Papa Legba, Kitè pèp pase, è a, viè zo"* ["Open the door for Atibon Papa Legba, let the people pass, oh, old bones"]. She accompanies herself on the ason, which is always used for the Rada spirits, and which employs a specific rhythmic pattern. When she has finished, the ounsi repeat what she has sung, and the musicians begin to play. One of the latter plays the ogan, and the others play the three drums known as the "Rada battery," if the traditional Rada drums are available. Rada drums are single-headed; the head is made of cow skin and attached to the hard-wood body with pegs set around the upper end of the drum. They are tuned by beating the pegs into the body, thus tightening the skin. The three drums are known as *maman,* the largest and lowest pitched; *segon,* of medium size and pitch; and *boula,* small and high pitched.

182

The master drummer, leader of the ensemble, plays the maman.

After addressing Legba, there are salutations to a number of other Rada lwa. These rites are characterized by order, restraint, and a stress on the hierarchical relationships among the participants. Order seems to be broken when a servant is possessed by a lwa, although in reality, possession is much under the control of the presiding oungan.

The Djouba is the second nation to be saluted at a Vodoun dance. The lwa in this group are representative of the earth and are the patrons of farmers. When a Djouba spirit takes possession of a devotee, he is outfitted in blue denim and a straw hat. He smokes a pipe and carries a satchel. His dance is different from the dance of the Rada lwa, and the drum patterns that accompany him are also different.

When the Djouba phase of the dance is over, rites for the Nago lwa begin. Again, the drum patterns change as the ounjenikon sings for Ogoun, the name given to most of the Nago deities. The dance steps become more forceful, appropriate to the Nago lwa because of their association with iron and warfare. The drumbeats are characterized by heavy, incessant beating with a stick by the master drummer.

The oungan gets up from his wicker seat, seemingly in a daze. Shaking his head and blinking, he begins to step forward, then stumbles. Two ounsi come forward to contain his struggling movements. When the master drummer sees what is occurring, he plays a *kasé*, a pattern that departs radically from the primary pattern, thereby disorienting the dance and listeners, and encouraging possession. The kasé is said to be a most effective way of bringing the lwa into a servant's head. Deren offers her interpretation of the kasé:

> [The drummer] can permit the tension to build to just the level where the break [kase] serves . . . climax it in a galvanizing shock . . . which abruptly empties the head and leaves one without any center around which to stabilize . . . Instead of being able to move in the long, balanced strides of relaxation, the defenseless person is buffeted by each great stroke, as the drummer sets out to "beat the loa into his head." (1984: 242)

Within moments, the oungan has become the spirit Ogoun.

During his presence in the temple, Ogoun holds audience with those present. He signals the musicians to silence and has several ounsi distribute the food that has been prepared for him. Ounsi and spectators consult with Ogoun on a variety of problems: love, health, jobs, and so on.

The feasting and conversation done, music and dance begin again, this time with Ogoun leading the song. Eventually, the body that the lwa has inhabited collapses, and several ounsi ease him into a chair. Ogoun has departed, closing the Nago rites.

The balance of the dance is dedicated to the lwa of the Pétro and the Gedé nations. These groups are thought of as *cho* (hot). The Pétros are aggressive, and during their rites, the social hierarchy so carefully articulated in Rada rites and somewhat muted in rites for the warrior Nagos, finally dissolves and the communal mode takes over. Pétro rites are noted for their use of slave imagery, such as the whistle and the crack of the whip. The drummers play Pétro drums, if available, which use a goatskin head attached by laces and tuned by sliding pegs along the laces against the softwood body of the instrument. The master drummer, who remains seated during Rada rites, is free to move during Pétro. There is often much interaction between him and the possessed.

Rites for the Gedé close the dance. A Gedé is a lwa of the cemetery, and thus rules over life and death and is prayed to for fertility. Gedé's dance is explicitly sexual, and the lwa likes to invite servants to dance with him, to the amusement of spectators. In fact, the dissolution of social hierarchy noted during Petro rites is carried further by the Gedés, and anyone who likes may lead the singing. At the same time, rites for Gedé give the entire evening a resolution: one of Gedé's symbols is the cross, the same symbol that opened the dance in connection with Legba, guardian of the crossroads.

The Festival

While Vodoun rituals fulfill the spiritual needs of Haitian immigrants to New York, the "festival" meets the need for relaxation and entertainment. But the festival also goes beyond this, as it seeks to establish a cultural identity for people who are attempting to forge a new life for themselves while holding on to the best of their heritage.

Festivals are typically held on Sunday evenings, just before the beginning of a new work and school week. They are always advertised to begin at six o'clock, but they rarely begin before seven. The extra hour has its function. Audience members mingle and socialize. Festivals usually take place at school auditoriums, like those of Brooklyn College, Clara Barton High School, Wingate High School, and Prospect High School, or in Catholic church auditoriums. Most are located in Brooklyn, usually in the centers of Haitian neighborhoods.

The festival is a variety show. The elements of the program are generally the same: one or two *compas* bands, one or more solo vocalists, a comedian, and a folkloric troupe. During the course of the show, awards may be given to community members in recognition of their contributions to the community. Sometimes a raffle is held, with proceeds going to a school or church or some other worthy cause in Haiti.

The main attraction at a festival is the compas band. The word compas means "with the step" or "with the measure." It dates back to the 1960s and the work of bandleaders Weber Sicot and Nemours Jean-Baptiste, who worked to modernize traditional Haitian *meringue*. Over the years, the trap

set and the electric guitar of American rock music were incorporated into the compas ensemble, and Haitians coming back from teaching jobs in the newly independent Zaire brought with them the Central African guitar style now characteristic of compas (Manuel 1988). Compas, then, is an amalgam of many styles, with an emphasis on the innovative and "modern."[1]

The "festival" provides both fun and cultural identity for working Haitians in the city.

Compas bands play in clubs in the Haitian community, located in Haitian neighborhoods in Brooklyn, Queens, Long Island, and Rockland County. Some cater to doctors, lawyers, and successful businessmen, but there are clubs for working-class people as well. The club offers Haitian cuisine and ample floor space for couple dancing. An evening out in a Haitian club calls for elegant dress. Clubs located outside the Haitian community, such as Manhattan's Sounds of Brazil, are less formal, as Haitians mix with Americans who move to the beat in their own fashion.

For the general Haitian community, however, the best access to a live compas band is through the festival. They are enormously popular and are therefore saved for the end of the program. If a festival is truly a "spectacle," it will feature two bands. At present, the most popular compas bands in New York are Tabou Combo, Skah-Shah, System Band, Magnum Band, and Coupé Cloué.

In recent years, compas has faced stiff competition from the *zouk* bands of Martinque and Guadeloupe. Zouk resembles compas but leans more toward rock. The lead vocalist is more typically female, where a compas band uses a male lead. The Guadeloupian group Kassav enjoys immense popularity among Haitians in New York, and a Haitian version, calling itself Sakad, has been formed. Sakad has appeared in many small-scale festivals in Brooklyn.

Compas and zouk bands emphasize the new, the modern. The late Firmin Joseph, a refugee who ran one of the Haitian community newspapers and who was also a festival organizer, believed that Haitians in New York need to see that they are part of a new world. Compas bands give them assurance that their lives are moving forward. At the same time, they are "nostalgic of Haiti" and want to remember where they came from. The "folkloric" music and dance troupes fulfill this need.

New York boasts some seven Haitian dance companies — the Ibo Dancers, La Troupe Makandal (Figs. 2, 3), Louines Louinis, and Troupe Konbit, to name a few. Most of their members worked in similar organizations in Port-au-Prince. The troupes draw their repertoire from the music and dance of Haitian Vodoun, Carnival, RaRa, and the Konbit.

Figure 2. *La Troupe Makandal. Photo by Chantal Regnault, 1983.*

Figure 3. *La Troupe Makandal, performing a Vodoun ceremony at Washington Square Church, New York City, 1986. Photo by Robert Browning, World Music Institute.*

The number and types of personnel in a dance troupe vary, but maintain certain parameters. At a minimum, three or four drummers/percussionists are needed, plus at least half a dozen dancers. A larger troupe would include more dancers. One member of a company, usually a dancer, serves as artistic director. He/she may be assisted by a dance captain. Often, certain personnel are designated to oversee props and wardrobe. The manager, usually not a performer, handles the group's business matters.

The typical Haitian "folkloric" performance presents three or four choreographies. Musicians appear on stage first. After they strike up, dancers enter from the wings. Both musicians and dancers are flamboyantly costumed. The dancers' costumes are based on the same ritual or festival sources that the music and dance derive from, but they are more stylized. Musicians are colorful, too, with tropical shirts and large Panama hats. Choreography is usually abstract, and the dance steps more stylized than their traditional sources. Occasionally, there is a narrative, as in the Ibo Dancers' "Ogoun," which depicts the battle of warrior spirits over Erzili, goddess of love. Each choreography comes to a well-defined close as dancers exit to the wings.

The festival is not complete without one or more vocalists. The musical style here reflects Haiti's European heritage. Leon Dimanche, Jean-Claude Eugene, Ansy Dérose, and Maryse Coulanges, among many others, occasionally use a tropical lilt, but the music draws from pop, soft rock, and even American country music, lacking in Afro-Caribbean rhythmic patterns. Most of it is easy listening. Notably, some of the younger among these singers use lyrics full of political and social references.

Conclusions

In New York, Haitian music and dance have undergone some striking changes. In general, the structures of music and dance have remained stable, but meanings have shifted, as have the audiences for particular forms of music. "Folkloric" troupes illustrate this phenomenon. These troupes were first organized in Haiti after World War II with the advent of tourism and for many years their primary audience consisted of outsiders. In New York today, the same folkloric repertoire is offered to Haitian immigrants. Meanwhile, for the non-Haitian in New York, the folkloric troupe has evolved yet another form of entertainment: the staged Vodoun ritual. The idea is to recreate, as closely as possible in the performance context, the Vodoun dance. These various kinds of adaptations of traditional music and dance appear to be related to ethnicity of audience, performer, and presenter (Wilcken 1983). For the outsider in New York, the "voodoo" ceremony is a novelty to be experienced. For the Haitian immigrant, it is a symbol of one's roots and need not be reproduced realistically; a stylized version is preferred. A neat, polished performance — in other words, the choreographed piece of the folkloric troupe — is more appealing than an improvised one, and a staged Vodoun ceremony has the appearance of

187

improvisation. Additionally, any Haitian in New York who wants to see a Vodoun ritual may go to one in a natural, not a staged, setting, and enjoy himself/herself for an entire evening of song, dance, food, and drink. Two hours or so of sitting in a theatre doesn't approximate such an evening. Haitian performers, moreover, think of themselves as artists and want to display their training. Both audiences and performers, then, make a sharp distinction between Vodoun and "folklore," which are, respectively, religion and art.

Some structural changes in music are becoming noticeable, however, as the festival and its contents spill over into areas outside the Haitian community. Most of the major compas bands have played at non-Haitian venues. Some use English text, American jazz and rock techniques, and white American horn players. Folkloric companies continue to represent Haiti in non-Haitian schools, clubs, and concert halls, where they instruct as well as entertain. Moreover, the participation of outsiders in Vodoun rituals may eventually alter the tradition. The isolation of the Haitian community and its music is perhaps becoming a thing of the past, and New York may soon be enjoying more of its rich and vital culture.

NOTE

1. In Haiti, the government-funded Troupe Nationale augments its music with brass, electric and acoustic guitars, and electric piano. La Troupe Makandal in New York is using a similar idea on a smaller scale.

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190

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191

Editor's Year-End Report (Sept. 1987 - Aug. 1988)

presented to the Annual Meeting of the
New York Folklore Society, Alexandria Bay, NY
September 23-25, 1988

Highlights of the year. A grant from The Folk Arts Program of the New York State Council on the Arts enabled us to produce a Special Publication, "Folk Arts-in-Eduction in New York State," the text of which also appeared as pp. 1-48 of *New York Folklore*, XIII, 3-4. Over 6000 flyers were printed and mailed to elementary and secondary schools across the State, with addresses provided *gratis* by the NYS Department of Education. Special thanks to John Milne of that Department for authorizing this service. In terms of energy expended and monies received from sales thus promoted, this has been an uneconomical operation; but it fulfills an appropriate role of the Society. See "Sales," below.

Vol. XIV, Nos. 1-2, with Mia Boynton's Special Section on "Folklore in the Industrial Workplace," was distributed to members June 9. The journal's new design has received generally favorable reactions. See Editor's Preface, "Our New Look," that issue. Having learning from experience, we reduced our expectations regarding sales of special issues and issues containing special sections; just 650 copies of this issue were printed, plus our usual 50 unbound copies for separation into off-prints for purchase by authors.

1000 copies of a hand-designed flyer advertising the Fall issue on folk music were made, for distribution at various folk music festivals throughout the summer. We sent a form letter announcing this special issue to 45 book and music publishers, inviting them to purchase advertising space.

"Folk and Traditional Music in New York State," Guest-Edited by Ray Allen and Nancy Groce, will appear as Vol. XIV, Nos. 3-4. It will contain 14 original essays, each with bibliography and discography and additional references as "recommended reading" or "listening." Much of the publication and marketing expense of this extraordinary special issue will be covered by a grant of $7000 from NYSCA. A separate flyer will be designed and printed, for distribution at the American Folklore Society meetings, and elsewhere. We expect publication and distribution in November.

Manuscripts. 13 volunteered papers were received by the Editor. 4 were rejected, 4 accepted after revisions, 5 still await authors' revisions. Other material was solicited by the Guest Editors.

192

Assistance. Editorial Board: Joyce Ice accepted the Editor's invitation to join the Board, beginning Fall 1988. Mary A. Twining advised the Editor that she will withdraw from the Board at the end of 1988.

Office Assistance: Two work-study students assisted in the Editorial Office in the Fall and Spring, 1987-88: Karen Overton and Michael Zelie. Zelie was approved for a summer assignment, at 6 hours per week. Both assistants lost their finding for 1988-89, as they were able to obtain support for their studies elsewhere. The Editor has applied for assistance, but applications were necessarily late, and at this time he has no assurance of assistance through the College Work-Study program. One undergraduate student, Crystal Mazur, will work with the Editor in return for academic credit, for 6 hours per week in the Fall semester.

Review readers: Manuscripts were graciously and competently reviewed by Robert Bethke, Jan Harold Brunvand, V.A. Chittenden, Archie Green, Murray Heller, Joyce Ice, Jack Santino, and A.T. Steegman, Jr. The Editor expresses his sincere thanks to them.

Sales. The Tresurer will report very satifactory income from total sales of back issues of *New York Folklore*. The Editorial Office has been recording sales of certain issues: "Buffalo" (X, 3-4, 1984), 115 copies at $906.50; "Marketing Folk Art" (XII, 1-2, 1986), 12 copies, $121.00; "Migrant Workers" (XIII, 1-2, 1987), 94 copies, $690.00; "Folk Arts-in-Education" (special publication) 140 copies, $467.50. We continue to offer back issues of *New York Folklore Quarterly*, as available, at $1 each plus postage.

Other matters. The idea of a special issue on "Folklore in New York City" has been shelved for lack of response. Other suggestions for special issues have been received, including: Native American lore in New York State; Afro-Caribbean Religions; Folklorists in the Public Sector.

The idea of a 40-year Index is still being pursued. Bruce Jackson, member of the *NYF* Editorial Board and Editor of the *Journal of American Folklore*, has offered to share his experiences in compiling a 100-year Index for the *JAF*.

Our relationship with Partners' Press of Buffalo continues to be thoroughly satisfactory. Another printer has expressed interest in taking over production *and* distribution of the journal. Discussion of this matter will continue.

The Editor's term expires the end of 1988 and he will not seek reappointment to another term; but he has offered to continue to supervise the editorial process through production of the Spring 1989 issue, or to June 1989, while a new Editor is sought. President Ward has accepted this offer.

Vol. XV, Nos. 1-2, 1989 will be a general issue of volunteered and individually solicited papers. We have set a deadline of December 15 for receipt of *new* material for consideration for that issue. Authors of papers

returned to them for revision have been urged to aim for that deadline, also. All individuals who have expressed interest in submitting papers have been advised that material received after December may have to await decision by the new Editor.

Respectfully submitted,

P.S., jr.

194

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Articles normally should not exceed 7,500 words. The most recent Style Guide and statement of Editorial Policy appears in Vol. XIII, Nos. 3-4, Winter-Spring 1987, or is available from the Editor. All material should be typed double-spaced on opaque white non-erasable paper. A separately-typed abstract of about 75 words should accompany each Article or item intended as a Note. Tables should appear separately from the text, numbered consecutively. The original and two copies of all textual and tabular material should be submitted. Text figures (drawings, charts, maps, photographs) should be clean and ready for publication. The original ms. and text figures will be returned if accompanied by sufficient first-class postage.

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